

6th March 1948]

II.—GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE BUDGET FOR 1948-49—cont.

* ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI SAHIB BAHADUR :—“ Mr. President, there is nothing in this Budget on which we can rightly congratulate the Hon. Minister for Finance, because after the 15th August, we thought that there will be a remarkable change in the presentation of the Budget, so far as the nation-building activities of Government are concerned. This Budget, I am sorry to say, stands in the same footing as Budgets presented to this House year after year for decades. While speaking on the Budget, I was only reading that in the papers to-day, the great Congress leader, Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, speaking in Pakistan Parliament, said that there was no difference between the methods followed by the British Government and the one followed after the attainment of independence. I say that that remark applies with equal force here also. We find that five crores have been taken away from the Reserve Fund which was kept for nation-building activities not by this Government but by a foreign Government, the Adviser regime. I do not know how after the Reserve Fund is exhausted, the Hon. Finance Minister will be in a position to balance his Budget. It is said that there is no fresh taxation. Sir, fresh taxation proposals at the time of the Budget provokes great criticism from members. Therefore, I must say that the Hon. Finance Minister has been very clever not to burden this Province with fresh taxation at a time when the taxation proposals will be severely criticized. Are we to understand that he will not bring them up by means of a Supplementary Demand during the course of the year? I feel that drawing from the Reserve Fund is a pointer to a financial crisis in the Province. Prohibition will be introduced in all the districts. Then the loss in revenue therefore, will be greater still and it is not easy to understand how the Hon. Finance Minister is going to meet the loss of revenue. One thing, I must say to the credit of the Hon. the Finance Minister, and that is, that while presenting his Budget, he has done his best with the best of sincerity; that we do not doubt. Let us hope that Budget of the future will be so prepared that they will create a feeling in the minds of the people that it is the Budget of an independent country. Now the ordinary man feels that his condition is what it was before the 15th August; he does not find any difference between the bureaucratic regime and a national regime of an independent Government. Hereafter, the Finance Minister must make the people understand that their condition has changed for the better because the Government is an independent Government. Whoever may be on the Treasury benches—personalities do not matter—people must be made to realize that the country is independent and whatever is done in this country is for the good of the people. So far as food question is concerned, there is no appreciable improvement from the viewpoint of the common man. The Hon. Finance Minister says that the Government of India have promised several millions of tons of foodgrains but that also is not sufficient. How are we going.

11-15
a.m.

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to tide over this difficulty? It is not a question of having controls or de-controlling. The Government of India may one day say the controls may be imposed or the controls may go. What worries the poor man is how he is going to get his food; this is the thing that is agitating the minds of the poor; they do not care whether it is done by having the control or de-control. So far as cloth is concerned, there is enough cloth in the market, but the prices are going up and you have not controlled prices. The other day, I was speaking about sugar. The moment control was removed even under the very nose of Government what was previously fourteen annas a viss rose to Rs. 1-10-0 and Rs. 1-12-0 and Government were absolutely helpless in the matter. What I feel is that we should create conditions in which the poor will be in a position to live. Leaving aside food, clothing and other amenities of life, there is one essential pre-requisite for independence, a pre-requisite without which we cannot claim to be independent and that is the liberty of the common man. Now, Sir, a number of people have been put into prison without trial and there is no limit to their internment. I ask, Sir, whether it is a sign of our independence. It may be that Government may have genuine reasons, very good reasons. I am not concerned with communities here, whether they are Muslim National Guards or the R.S.S. volunteers. Whoever it may be, you cannot snatch away their freedom and liberty in the manner in which you have done. I am reminded of what the two great leaders—the President of the Congress and member of the Central Legislature—the great leader, Pandit Motilal Nehru and another equally great leader, Sri S. Srinivasa Ayyangar, said in the Central Legislature,

MR. PRESIDENT:—"Before the 15th August?"

* ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI SAHIB BAHADUR:—"It is because it was said before the 15th August, that it must now be ringing into our ears. They said: 'If you have the courage, put them on trial; if you do not have, then it is your bounden duty to let them off'. I now ask the Hon. Minister for Law, why he does not follow it. As Mr. Srinivasa Ayyangar said, I do not want clemency and what we ask is that they should be put on trial; if they are guilty, convict them for ten years or even to transportation for life. What is the use of keeping them in prison without bringing them to trial? Some of the persons are poor. One is a Hakeem, Mr. Abdul Faiz, a poor man living from hand to mouth; he is put in prison and his family is starving. There is another case, that of Mr. Abdul Hafeez, who is an advocate. When he applied for the post of a District Munsif, he severed all connexion with the Muslim League as well as with the Muslim National Guards. That man has been detained; I do not understand why without any reason, he should be made to rot in jail; his wife and children are suffering and the poor man has lost all his practice. I implore you to bring them before a court of law. If they are found guilty in the interests of the peace and

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tranquility of the country, put them in jail. I yield to none in the House or in the country in my desire for peace and tranquillity; but under the pretence of tranquillity and peace, you should not think of putting innocent people in jails. I say innocent because according to jurisprudence—I am not a lawyer, but all lawyers know it—no man should be considered to be guilty unless he is convicted. What is the feeling in the country about the manner in which the Government is carried on—not the common man who goes in the street, but by persons occupying the highest place in the life of the country, persons who are the highest legal authorities in the country? The Chief Justice of our Province in his address to the Madura Bar Association said :

‘One of the inherent evils of democracy was the tendency to give room for autocracy. It was possible in a democracy for a party, which got into power, to become autocratic in a sense when the law of the country would not necessarily reflect public opinion nor necessarily safeguard the interests of the public. It was then that the law might tend to be arbitrary.’

Mr. P. T. Rajan, the President of the Bar Association, spoke of the tendency on the part of the executive to arrogate to itself more and more powers and encroach on the jurisdiction of courts, thus interfering with the freedom and liberty of subjects. I simply express what they say that the liberty of the subjects should not in any way be jeopardized. The jurisdiction of the courts should not in any way be limited. The courts are there to administer justice and why do Government take upon themselves the responsibility of finding out whether a particular man is guilty or innocent. If a person is found guilty by the courts, by all means keep him behind the bars for as long as you like. There is another gentleman who has been released on parole, Mr. Jamal Mohideen, son of Mr. Jamal Muhammad Sahib of whom you might have heard, a gentleman elected to the Central Legislature both by the Hindus and Muslims, who had always been for peace; both father and son are peaceful and respectable citizens. He has been released on parole, but what is the use? I say: ‘If they are guilty, punish them, punish them much more than what they deserve; but if they are not guilty, please let them off. I read in ‘The Mail’ of yesterday that the Hon. Minister for Law has released some people and I request that he will adopt the same procedure in the case of the other people who are rotting in jails without anything being proved against them.

“ Closely associated with the question of shortage of food, is the use to which funds earmarked for Grow More Food Campaign are put to. It is necessary that people should be persuaded to grow more food. In that connexion I wish to ask Government whether they have ascertained if the quantity of extra food that has been grown on account of the Grow More Food Scheme is commensurate with the large amounts expended under this item. What was the production in the country and what was the extent of land under cultivation previously and what is the improvement that we see now. If such an investigation is not made but merely money is allotted for it, it will only mean an extravagant waste.

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"The other question I wish to refer to is education. As was pointed out by previous speakers, it is the most important of all nation-building activities of an independent nation. Now, Sir, it is necessary that more schools should be started, more colleges should be started and more money should be spent on education. I shall confine myself to one aspect of education here, though I feel that that aspect seems to be a red rag to the Hon. Minister for Education. I mean Muslim education. It is only a day or two back I read in the papers that the new college for women for which Mr. V. L. Ethiraj has made a large endowment is to start functioning in the City from June next, and that it is to be housed in the building of the Muslim College for Women. Why is it that that particular building has been chosen? Is it the intention of Government to abolish that college? Or is it their intention to remove that college to some other place? People think that though you declare you are not communal-minded, in action, you are. It is said by Government that communalism is gone; it is being buried five fathoms deep; there is no use of being communal-minded. May I say, at the same time it is the bounden duty of every Government to see that every section of communities under them is protected. If the Muslim community, or the Christian community or the Depressed Class community or Harijan community requires particular safeguard or particular protection it is the bounden duty of Government to do it. Government is like a mother, and the subjects are like the children. A mother who has a number of children looks attentively to weak children, gives more nourishment and medicine to them, and it is in the same way, that the people who are in a minority, who are in a helpless state ought to be looked after with great care. Therefore there is no communalism in asking for particular safeguards or for particular concession by those who are backward in education and other matters.

"Now, Sir, with regard to education, people say, that this Government is now trying to be above board, because it is an independent Government after the 15th August. Being independent there will be no communalism, no nepotism, no corruption, nothing of the sort with this Government. Now, may I ask them one simple question? One Brahmin Director of Public Instruction, a retired gentleman, who wanted some more extension of service, was not given extension of service. A Muslim Deputy Director of Public Instruction has been refused extension. A Christian Deputy Director of Public Instruction has been refused extension. May I ask the Hon. Minister for Education, why a non-Brahman Hindu gentleman of Coimbatore has been given extension. I may be wrong; my information may be wrong; I am speaking subject to correction. I want to satisfy myself by getting an answer from the Hon. Minister for Education, is it because he is non-Brahman Hindu who belongs to Coimbatore that that extension of service was given to him, whereas other people were not given extension? Sir, in this connexion I am reminded of another similar thing, which, I think, happened during the regime of the previous Ministry. During the previous Ministry retired Government

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officers were asked to rejoin duty and work for some time. In this way, several officers were re-entertained; one Muslim also was re-entertained. After one year, all the other retired gentlemen except this Muslim gentleman, were given extension. I made a representation to the then Minister for Revenue (because that Muslim was a Revenue official) pointing out the injustice of refusing extension of service to a Muslim alone."

MR. PRESIDENT :—" How is this relevant to the present discussion? "

* ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI SAHIB BAHADUR :—" I say this, because there is so much talk that Communal Government Order should be scrapped. I think it is necessary to retain that Government Order because of happenings like this. I think the Communal Government Order is necessary to safeguard our interests. If merely on merit you are going to have people appointed, I am positively certain that backward community people will not be admitted into Government service, and they will not get any chance to rise in the country."

MR. PRESIDENT :—" Whatever might be the opinion of other people, the Government seem to consider the Government Order necessary. You need not labour on that point further."

ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI SAHIB BAHADUR :—" I am pointing out the acts of Government."

MR. PRESIDENT :—" Not of this Government? "

* ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI SAHIB BAHADUR :—" I am glad this Government are not feeling in that way. I hope, in future, there will not be complaints from communities that their claims are overlooked and not recognized."

" I now come to the question of the non-gazetted officers. I do want to draw the attention of Government to one aspect, whatever may be the opinion of a particular gentleman or the opinion of the Government regarding the question whether strike on the part of Government servants is justified or not. I for my part feel they should not go on strike. But I ask what is the other course open to these people? How are their grievances to be redressed? If you are not going to penalize strike in the case of certain companies and private institutions, I do not see how strike on the part of Government servants can be penalized. I agree that Government servants ought to set an example, and so they should not resort to strike. Yes, I agree; but I ask, what is the other remedy open to them? What is the value of the rupee now? What one rupee was able to fetch five years back, is not to be had even if five rupees are spent on it. All of us have to go to the same market; and these people also have to secure things to satisfy their bare necessities."

" Sir, I now come to the housing problem. Sir, may I ask what amount has been allotted for this purpose in the budget? "

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MR. PRESIDENT :—" I wonder why no Member of this House raises the question of housing for this House." (Laughter.)

* ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI SAHIB BAHADUR :—" I hope, Sir, a time will come soon, when this House will be enlarged, when, you will be occupying the very seat which you are to-day occupying, and we shall request you to see that more accommodation is given to the Members of this House.

" Now, Sir, only this morning I read in the newspaper, how in Bombay a five-year plan of housing has been unfolded by the Minister for Labour. It envisages the construction of 175,000 tenements at a cost of four crores."

DR. V. K. JOHN :—" On a point of order, Sir, I don't see the Hon. Minister for Transport when this subject is being discussed."

THE HON. DR. P. SUBBARAYAN :—" I have explained time and again, the Ministry acts as a whole, and whatever is said here will be conveyed to my Colleagues who are not here, and when they reply they will deal with them."

* ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI SAHIB BAHADUR :—" Now, Sir, the example of Bombay may be emulated and copied by our Province, and our Minister may pay more attention to the housing problem in this Province. It is not only in the City that houses are scarce; even in remote far-off villages, there is scarcity of houses. So I feel more attention should be paid to building houses.

" With regard to Armed Police there is a passage in the budget speech at page 35 which runs as follows :—

' As regards expenditure on Revenue Account, there is a large increase of Rs. 175 lakhs under the head " Police," due to the formation of the four new units of Armed Police and of the Home Guards, the revision of the pay of Police subordinates, etc.'

I submit this large amount of expenditure is illegal. I submit it is unconstitutional on the part of Government to provide such a large sum for Armed Police. I say so, because this revenue is derived from not only non-Muslims but from Muslims as well. When you already have a Police force why do you want another Armed Police? How are you justified in spending money on them? Therefore it is a protest that has got to be lodged against this large sum of money being provided for Armed Police.

" I now come to the department of Health. Sir, there are two diseases which are increasing day by day. One is tuberculosis and the other is leprosy. As to leprosy there are several people who are collecting money for leprosy relief fund and I am sure all that will be spent for the relief of the afflicted. Sir, tuberculosis is a disease which is on the increase in the Province, and may I ask what is it that has been done to check the spread of this fell disease? There is a sanatorium at Tambaram and it is doing some work. But to-day the number of beds there is limited and so its scope of work will also be limited. There is a hospital in the Spur Tank

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Road. Several people go there for treatment. Some medicine is given there. But people say, it is only water that is given there. They become worse and worse and finally die in ill-ventilated houses, and nothing is then heard of these people. Is it not the duty of the Government to set apart places for segregating these people and see that the diseases do not spread? I ask what the Government have done with regard to this.

11.45
a.m.

"There is great deal of corruption in the Medical department as in other departments. I am drawing particular attention to the Medical department because there is a very sensational case before the High Court. I know the case is *sub judice* and I do not want to enter into details. A Resident Medical Officer was murdered on account of the fact that there was corruption and bribery in his hospital. I say it is better that the Government appoint an enquiry committee to find out how far the allegation that there is corruption and bribery in the Medical department is true. If it is found to be true, I would ask the Government to devise ways and means to eradicate the evil. It is not necessary that corruption should be only at the bottom. It may be even in higher ranks. The record of all previous Resident Medical Officers and other high officers should be investigated in detail.

"In the Mental Hospital, there are rich patients who pay money as boarders, and that money is credited to Government account. But the Superintendent takes more money for medicines, injections and so on. He writes to the relatives of the patients to send the money. I am told that these amounts are not credited to Government account, but I do not know how far the information is correct. I simply place the matter before the Hon. Minister for enquiry. If such amounts are credited to Government, why should not the account be shown to the Government and to the guardians of the patients?

"Then, there are retired Government servants whose pensions are not sanctioned even after two or three years after retirement. Government servants cannot put by anything; they are not like merchants who can make large fortunes. They simply lead a hand-to-mouth existence. A relative of mine retired about a year ago. His pension has not yet been sanctioned and even now he is not drawing his pension."

THE HON. SRI B. GOPALA REDDI:—"His past service and connected matters have to be verified in the Accountant-General's office. Hence there is delay."

ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI SAHIB BAHADUR:—"On that account, can a man starve for one year without getting his pension? How is he to live on earth? You may say that man does not live by bread alone. So I request the Government to minimise the delay due to red-tapism and instruct the subordinates to issue orders for the payment of pensions soon after retirement.

"My hon. Friend Mr. Ranga Reddi is not here. (At this stage, Sri N. Ranga Reddi entered the House.) He is a very good friend of mine."

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THE HON. SRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIYAR :—
 “ Who is not your very good friend? ”

ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI SAHIB BAHADUR :—“ Every-
 body is my very good friend. But in this case the duration of
 friendship extends to more than a quarter of a century.”

MR. PRESIDENT :—“ I am more concerned with the dura-
 tion of your speech.” (Laughter.)

ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI SAHIB BAHADUR :—“ He
 said that he did not want the formation of an Andhra Province to
 which the Congress is committed if proper safeguards for Rayala-
 seema are not provided. If that is not communalism, if that is
 only a request for safeguarding the interests of particular com-
 munities, then I request the Government that we minorities also
 should be looked after with as much care as the other people of the
 Province are looked after without brushing aside our demands as
 emanating from a spirit of communalism.

“ Sir, thank you very much.”

* MR. A. S. T. F. RODRIGUEZ :—“ Mr. President, Sir, I
 would like to congratulate the Hon. Finance Minister on the
 budget he has presented to the House. This is the first budget after
 our country attained independence and it is a matter for gratifica-
 tion that the budget represents the present time-spirit. It is the
 common man's budget. It is conceived with the sole idea of
 bettering the lot of the man in the street. It is remarkable that it
 contains no proposals for any kind of additional taxation. How
 much would one wish that all future Finance Ministers present us
 with similar budgets which will not throw additional burden on the
 poor harassed taxpayer!

“ Another feature on which the Hon. Finance Minister should
 be complemented is the fact that within seven months from now
 our Province will go entirely dry. No doubt it costs us no less
 than Rs. 17 crores per annum, more than one-third of our total
 revenues, but it is worth it. No other province in our Motherland
 has undertaken such a useful scheme. This is the fittest tribute,
 we can pay to the Father of the Nation and the fact that we have
 embarked on it regardless of the cost is sufficient testimony that
 this Province more than any other is following the principles laid
 down by Mahatmaji. It is appropriate that our whole Province
 will go dry on the 80th birthday anniversary of Mahatmaji and so
 soon after his passing away. Credit for the fact that we have been
 able to implement the scheme in full should go in in no small
 measure to the Hon. Premier. I would like to stress in this
 connexion that the Government should make strenuous attempts
 to make prohibition a complete success. Illicit distillation should
 be avoided at all costs. I am saying this because I had occasion to
 observe during my tour in North Arcot district that this evil
 prevails there on a rather large scale. At the same time every
 effort should be made to rehabilitate ex-addicts. No money spent
 on these purposes would go to waste.

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" An important matter I would like to touch upon is Food. This should be given top priority. The Government have always said that their primary concern is to give good food and as much food as possible to all people. But what are the facts? Thanks to rationing, the masses are given less and less food. From 16 oz. the ration has dwindled down to 8 oz. and even this is not supplied to the unfortunate masses in rural areas. It is a blessing that after all food control is being taken away. The sooner it is abolished throughout the Province, the better. Should we not follow in this respect also the advice of our revered Mahatmaji who insisted in season and out of season that all controls should go and go at once? Nothing would satisfy his soul more than the immediate abolition of all controls.

" Much of our trouble in regard to the food situation is no doubt due to adverse seasons. But this should be no excuse for the Government whose duty it is to strain every nerve to see that there is more and more production. The most effective method for production is undoubtedly the utilization of electric power on a large scale for purposes of well-irrigation. I would very much wish that the Hon. Ministers for Agriculture and Public Works collaborate together with a view to supply electric energy for purposes of agriculture. Priority should be given to deficit and famine districts like Ramnad and Tinnevely. I am sure that if steps in this direction had already been taken, we would not be witnessing at present famine conditions in these areas, for production of food in these places would have gone up considerably even as much as 50 per cent.

" As a representative of the Indian Christian community, I would like to say a word about the recent Communal Government Order. Let me say at once that what we want is communal justice and fairplay. We want no special favours or privileges. According to the old G.O. which was in force for more than eighteen years, our community was entitled to 2 posts out of 12. Under the new dispensation, however, we get 1 out of 14. What I cannot understand is that when another minority community with only half our population gets 2 posts out of 14, why should the Indian Christian community with double that population get only 1 instead of 4. This requires explanation. We will rather have the Communal G.O. abolished once for all and all appointments made solely on merit and efficiency. I daresay all communities will be happy for such a consummation.

" It is said that the number of holidays for Christmas and Easter would be reduced and that Sunday would be converted into a working day. What I would respectfully urge on the Ministry is that on all matters affecting the interests of our community, the Christian representatives in the Legislatures and other Christian leaders should be consulted and their advice given due consideration.

" I would like to refer to one other matter in this connexion. In this secular state of ours, we, Christians, realize, that patriotism is both a virtue and a duty enjoined on us by our religion and that we are even prepared to make any amount of sacrifice for the

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welfare of our motherland. We will always co-operate in all measures intended to promote the well-being of society and the happiness and prosperity of the people. It is our determination to stand united with our countrymen to make our motherland a great country, worthy of her ancient and glorious past."

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* SRI D. KRISHNAMURTI :—" The budget presented to this House by the Hon. Finance Minister is a very interesting budget. It is a very skilfully planned one; it has avoided every attempt at fresh taxation. But, Sir, the budget unfortunately discloses a deficit of 5 crores and this deficit is sought to be met from the Revenue Reserve Fund. The deficit is due to the policy of Prohibition to which the Ministry is committed. I for one do not entirely agree with the scheme of total Prohibition within a period of three years. I wish that the Madras Government had followed the example of the other Congress Provinces and embarked upon a progressive policy of Prohibition, so that the financial position of the Province may not be disturbed. Anyhow, Sir, now we have committed ourselves to a scheme of total Prohibition. Sir, it can be seen from the speeches made on the floor of the House that several hon. Friends have expressed the fear that Prohibition has not been a complete success and that there has been illicit distillation going on in various parts of this Province; and that the staff employed for the enforcement of Prohibition has neither been competent nor adequate. For Prohibition to be successful the Government should make it impossible for the persons addicted to drink to get drink. They should therefore increase their vigilance activities. This experiment as we all know was tried in America by Pussy-foot Johnson. In the beginning there was great enthusiasm and after some years they were fed up with the thing and they had to give it up. I wish, Sir, that the same experience may not be repeated in this country and that the Government would not be wasting its funds in vain in their efforts to make Prohibition a success. We find, Sir, that Government have chosen to give Prohibition top priority in their programme. May I ask, Sir, if this is the first item to be given top priority in the Congress Election Manifesto? Or are there other items requiring higher priority, when viewed with commonsense, which are more urgent and which demand immediate attention, such as food, shelter, rural sanitation, industrialization, etc.?"

MR. PRESIDENT :—" I thought that the Hon. Member was also a Member of the Congress Party."

* SRI D. KRISHNAMURTI :—" I am asking, Sir, whether this has the first priority in the election manifesto."

MR. PRESIDENT :—" I thought the hon. Member would also know about that."

* SRI D. KRISHNAMURTI :—" I see, Sir, that there are a number of items mentioned in the manifesto. If Prohibition is given first priority by all means take up total Prohibition, as the first item. ..

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" In a speech the other day, the Hon. the ex-Premier said that there should be the highest priority for Prohibition. No doubt, we have had the goodwill of His Excellency C. Rajagopalachariar for enforcing Prohibition. I therefore say that the Government should enforce this experiment with all their might, if necessary by going in for additional taxation for redoubling the vigilance staff and make the experiment a mighty success. It is a matter of experiment and the historian will write as to how far we have been able to succeed in the experiment we are embarking upon. Next year there is a likelihood of a greater deficit in the Budget because of total Prohibition. The Hon. the Finance Minister has cleverly mentioned in his speech that he should try to find out methods by which he could increase the national revenue. It is not indicated definitely on what lines he would like to raise taxation so that he may make up the balance. Here, he has also mentioned that he is putting up a strong fight with the Central Government for the allocation of greater percentage to us from the Income-tax revenue and other revenues of the Government of India. But the Central Government Finance Minister has recently made a statement that the Provincial Governments should carefully husband their resources and that the Central Government would not be able to come to their rescue. In the face of that statement I doubt if the hopes entertained by our Finance Minister would be fruitful. I do not know whether the Centre would come to our rescue and give us large doles to balance our budget in future years. While dealing with this topic, I wish to say that the Budget should be a progressive one, and it is the duty of the Hon. the Finance Minister to find ways and means so that the income and expenditure could always be balanced and we should not resort to drawing from the reserve funds to make up any deficit. In his novel, 'David Copperfield,' one of the characters of Charles Dickens says: 'If a man's income is 20s and expenditure 21s the result is misery. If his income is 20s and expenditure is 19s result is happiness.' That is the relation that income and expenditure bear to each other. On account of the sacrifices made on the altar of Prohibition the hands of the Finance Minister are tied. In spite of these great handicaps he has found ways and means to provide for some amenities. But it should be remembered that Members one after another, belonging to the Congress Party and the Opposition, have emphasized in clear terms that they want this to be done and that has to be done.

" Gentlemen like Mr. Muthuranga Mudaliyar and Dr. U. Rama Rao were making statements in the House that the medical profession had been neglected and that corruption has been rampant and that the staff is not competent enough to cope up with the situation, etc. These were remarks made, I trust on personal experience, observation and on verification. If this House thinks that the situation requires strong remedies then the Hon. the Finance Minister should find ways and means.

" Sir, free and compulsory elementary education has been the subject of discussion for over decades. People of all parties have

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agitated for the same and we are entitled to ask the Hon. the Finance Minister as to how much amount he has allotted for the same so that this matter might be undertaken immediately. He has not been able to do it though he wants to do it, because he has not enough funds. Sir, the basic education scheme has been mentioned. We must take up a planned scheme of free and compulsory education so that illiteracy could be removed in toto. Statistics show, Sir, that about 10 or 11 per cent of the people are addicted to drink. And about 85 to 87 per cent of the people of the Province are illiterate. May I ask, Sir, why the Government have given the top priority to Prohibition as against the liquidation of illiteracy? May I ask, Sir, whether the provision that has been made in the Budget for education is adequate to drive out illiteracy? When we were outside we were talking of driving out illiteracy and when we have come into power we have not been able to give top priority to education on the ground of want of finance. I suggest that the Hon. the Finance Minister should try, if it is necessary, to levy additional taxation so that this great demon of illiteracy be driven out once for all.

"Sir, it has been pointed out by an hon. Member that in the Bombay Province they have recently started a very big scheme of house-building and they have announced a planned programme for a period of five years. Has the Madras Government done anything in this direction? If not, to-day, at some other time the Government will have to find ways and means to provide funds for this essential work and unless that is actually done, I am sure, the clever Finance Minister could not put his hand on his conscience and say that he has done his very best.

"I shall now come to a very common topic, Sir, of control *versus* decontrol. There was a great hue and cry when controls were abolished in certain areas. But judging from experience one and all will agree that the removal of controls has done substantial good. There is no difficulty in getting decontrolled articles in the areas where decontrol has been given effect to. Therefore I fail to understand why the Government are still sticking on to the system of controls in certain areas. Let controls be removed at once and if on future experience it is found that it results in a serious situation the Government can again come forward and impose these controls. It is from my experience, Sir, that I can say that decontrol has been able to infuse confidence in the people and it has helped in driving away the devil of blackmarketing. Even in the Madras City it must be the experience of every person that there is a lot of rice available and sales and purchases are taking place through the blackmarket. That is to say, what we call the basket-wala visits the houses and rice is sold and purchased just to make up the rationing deficiency. By removing controls on food articles no serious calamity will befall us, but on the other hand we will be able to put down this demon of the blackmarket.

"Another subject which I want to mention is this. There has been a strong feeling on the part of the Treasury Benches that the Government servants, especially those that are low paid,

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started some unholy agitation, like strikes and lockouts of an exceptional nature and that they have been taught a lesson and made to return to duty. Sir, I have no sympathy with any person who encourages people to resort to these methods with a view to compel Government to give what they want by threatening to bring the Government to a standstill. The method is discreditable and illegal one. But I wish to know what it is that has been done to help these people. Sir, the problem has to be approached with a sympathetic mind. It is a known fact that prices have considerably increased. The purchasing power of the rupee has come down by two-thirds. For what you were able to get for 5 annas in 1939 you will have to pay now Re. 1. Therefore the dearness allowance and the increments that the Government have given for persons drawing Rs. 200 and less is nothing. The price of articles has risen up by three times and the price of cloth also is very high. The price of every article of necessity has gone up three or four times. I would therefore appeal to the Government to deal with their case sympathetically and make it possible for them to live a decent life. Let it not be said that a popular Government have beaten them hard on the stomach. As I have already said, Sir, their method may not be laudable to get this remedied. It is the duty of the Government to find ways and means for redressing their grievances.

“ Sir, the Co-operative department is doing very excellent work. I had occasion to know from the officers working in the department that their hands are tied by the paucity of funds. Here again, I appeal to the Hon. the Finance Minister to make it convenient to provide adequate funds for the Co-operative department so that they can extend their operations and eliminate the middleman and the profiteering merchants and the goods could be delivered directly to the consumers through the co-operative societies. Sir, the activities of the Co-operative department should be enlarged and they should be given adequate staff so that they might be useful to serve the greater needs of the people.

“ Lastly I shall refer to one subject, Sir. It has been stated in the Budget Speech of the Hon. the Finance Minister that this might be the last budget for a composite province. Sir, I am one of those who have been actively participating in the agitation for the formation of a separate Andhra Province. Even in 1932 when I was speaking in the Legislative Council I was saying that the Andhra Province should function separately forthwith. But, Sir, talking in 1948, I see that much water has flown down the bridge. We have learnt a good deal from experience. On the 15th of August 1947 when Independence was granted to India we celebrated it enthusiastically. Subsequently when we came to know the situation that had arisen both in Pakistan and in India we were all shedding tears and the same culminated in the death of the greatest man of the age, Mahatma Gandhi. In the Madras City people speaking all languages, the Andhras, the Tamilians, Malayalis, etc., are all living with a sense of amity and happiness.

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The throwing of this apple of discord, namely, the separation of Provinces, I am afraid, will be introducing a new source of danger, which might ultimately lead to serious troubles. Mahatma Gandhi has offered us a simple and sound advice. He said: If without a boundary commission separation could be effected by compromise and good understanding, by all means do it. My hon. Friends from Rayalaseema were speaking the other day mentioning that they were not going to join the Andhra Province except under certain conditions."

MR. PRESIDENT:—"The hon. Member should know that we are not on the resolution for the constitution of linguistic provinces. It is not in the Budget. I wish he closes soon."

12-15
p.m.

* SRI D. KRISHNAMURTI:—"Sir, I am not against the formation of linguistic provinces, but the only point that I want to mention here is that this question should not be taken up with a view to create divisions among the people. Formation of linguistic provinces should be amicably arranged or otherwise deferred for the present. Lastly, I earnestly appeal to the Finance Minister to sanction the grants as expeditiously as possible so that most of the schemes which are now pending may be taken up immediately. Sir, one way of balancing a budget is by raising taxes. The reputation of a Government depends on getting the Budget balanced without raising taxes and in that respect, I congratulate again the Hon. the Finance Minister for placing before us a very well-balanced, satisfactory and useful budget for this year."

* K. UPPI SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Mr. President, Sir, I offer my hearty congratulations to the Hon. Finance Member."

MR. PRESIDENT:—"They are no longer Members; they are Ministers."

* K. UPPI SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Last year, when the Finance Minister introduced the supplementary Budget, he said in his speech that he will be a watch-dog over the finances of the Province. If one goes through the Budget, one will realize that he has certainly been a watch-dog as he promised in his speech. If one goes through the explanatory memorandum, one feels that even he could not escape from criticism. Sir, under very trying circumstances, under very extraordinary circumstances, he has placed a balanced budget. I do not say it is a balanced budget still, but he has brought down the deficit to about one and a half crores or about two crores of rupees and for that, our congratulations are due to him."

"Then, Sir, with regard to the policy of the Government during the last one year, one will see that the Government was more active in making legislations than in attempting any nation-building activities and we cannot find any new features in the Budget for development of the country except those that were found in the previous year. Sir, that is not progressive development."

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"Then another matter which is agitating all our minds is the communal talk. It has been in season and out of season stated that this State will be a secular State. Sir, it has always been a secular State. Repeating that it is a secular State is not going to serve any purpose. I do not understand its meaning. This Province has always been a secular State and it has never been a theocratic State. We all wish it to be a secular State but by the repetition that it is going to be a secular State, I do not understand the meaning. Does it mean that under the Union Government, there will be no religion? If so, then woe to India; woe to us; woe to our future generations. I say it is religion that makes a man. Otherwise, man would be something less than animals. Whether it be Hindu religion, Muslim religion, Sikh religion, or Christian religion, it is religion, that makes man a man. Otherwise what would be the position of man? But for religion, man would be tempted to commit the most atrocious acts which even the wildest animals will not do. Therefore, Sir, if the policy of the Government is to wipe out religion, then I say woe unto us. The greatness of Mahatma Gandhi is because of his belief in God. He firmly believed in God and in the omnipotence of God, in His justice and in His love. It is in his belief of God that his greatness lay. His greatness is not any political greatness or due to his political acumen. There were people who were great. There was Hitler; there is Stalin and there is Kamal Pasha. It was Kamal Pasha who resuscitated Turkey though powerful enemies had crushed it. Mahatma Gandhi was great on account of his religious beliefs. So, Sir, if the policy of the present Government, by saying that it is going to be a secular State, is to wipe out all religions, then where we will be?"

MR. PRESIDENT:—"From where does the hon. Member get the idea?"

K. UPPI SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Sir, it has been repeated time and again by Government that this is going to be a secular State. I do not know what Government mean by this. Does it mean that there will be no religion?"

THE HON. DR. P. SUBBARAYAN:—"Every man can have his own religion. Government will not interfere with religious beliefs and we are anxious to protect religion."

K. UPPI SAHIB BAHADUR:—"I am grateful to the Hon. Minister for that explanation. We have not heard that explanation till now and I am thankful to the Hon. Minister."

MR. PRESIDENT:—"You must be thankful to me first."

K. UPPI SAHIB BAHADUR:—"My thanks go through you, Sir. Now, Sir, I am coming to the more mundane facts. Let me say that the attitude of the Government towards us so far has not been such as to create the much-desired goodwill and mutual good understanding. There was a sort of suspicion

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that we were looking to somebody else and somewhere else. Sir, we are only looking to this country and to this Government and we have always made declarations on the floor of this House and the other House and also outside the House that we will never be Jews and that we will be Mussalmans; we will never be hypocrites; we will be with you; even when we do not agree with you, we will take the risk. We told you point-blank all these things. We told you that we will stand by you and we will co-operate with you. But, Sir, the Government became recently suspicious of us. Some time back, we brought the matter to the notice of the Government. That we are with this Government is also in the minds of the Government, their subordinates and their executive officers. Recently, in Malabar there was an incident. At a place where a shandy was going on, the Police arrested some people. It was the action of the Police, I should say, that created a situation which was very critical but by some providential act, it was averted. The Hon. the Home Minister knows it. I do not want to dilate on that at this juncture because the matter is *sub judice*. Anyhow, I asked the Hon. the Home Minister to have an eye and to see that such things do not occur. Sir, the place was very very excitable. Somehow or other, it caught fire. The Hon. Minister knows the reason. What would have happened to Malabar if that catastrophe was not averted? The fire fortunately subsided in that place. Otherwise, it would have caught the whole of Malabar.

" Sir, it has been repeatedly said in this House that the denominational schools and institutions be done away with. Sir, so far as denominational schools are concerned, I wish to say this. Muslims have no objection to study in any school; but, we, Muslims, consider that Muslim literature and Muslim culture can be studied only if we have separate schools. Sir, no Muslim would object to sit by the side of people who are considered to be the most depressed. Then, you may ask, why do you want these denominational schools. These denominational schools are required because, we, Muslims, consider that our religion, which is most valuable to us, can be taught to our children only in separate schools. The religious spirit should be inculcated in the minds of these young children even while they are at school. In a joint school, it may not be possible to teach our children, our religion. It is on account of that alone, these denominational schools are required and not because some Muslims will get employment or because we are proud of having separate schools, but wholly for the purpose of providing religious education for our children. Formerly, these denominational schools came into existence on account of the British policy that no religion should be taught in schools. I wish, Sir, that Hindu children should be taught Hindu religion, Muslim children Muslim religion and Christian children Christian religion. In a joint school, it is impossible to teach these religions separately. After a long agitation, the Government recognized the necessity for separate schools though they did not provide for teaching religion, and left it to be made by the local people.

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"Sir, under the circumstances, all of a sudden if you wipe out denominational schools, the masses will consider that this Government is anti-Muslim. Sir, preaching of good understanding will have no effect if actions are different. This would lead to estrangement of one community from another. Then, Sir, terrorising the people will not bring about good mutual understanding but will have only the opposite effect. I hope the Government will consider these things and co-operate with us and allow us to co-operate with them.

"Sir, I want to tell the Government another thing, by the way. There is a feeling that the Muslim League should go. I want to tell the Government on the floor of this House that wiping away the Muslim League will not be in the interests of the Muslims and, in the long run, not in the interests of the Congress Government. For, the League is the only Muslim body which has some control over the masses. If the League goes, the Muslims will be disrupted and the mentality of the younger generation is to join the extreme parties. It is only the Muslim League that is now keeping them from joining those parties. If the League goes, nobody will have any control over our young men and they will join the extreme parties and the subversive elements with whom you and I have no sympathy. These extreme parties will be ultimately strengthened. With this advice, I close my speech."

* THE HON. SRI KALA VENKATA RAO :—"Mr. President, with your permission, I should like to make a short statement. The other day, the hon. Member Mr. Purushotham made a reference to certain instances and remarked that the Revenue Minister was interfering in small matters in the district administration. I stoutly deny that charge, Sir. You are aware, Sir, that the Government have got certain functions to discharge. Suppose an officer is dismissed by the Collector. The Government have got a right to restore him if they consider it proper. Suppose a Collector does not dismiss an officer for black-marketing or other activities. The Government can enquire into the matter and if they think it just, can dismiss that officer. So, if we do anything in the routine course according to the rules framed long ago, it should not be called interference at all.

"Apart from this, I may mention, Sir, that the particular instance mentioned by the hon. Member was about a small tank in a village. The hon. Member alleged that I interfered with all the powers of a Revenue Minister. I should also like to contradict him in this matter. The village referred to is Kunavaram in Amalapuram taluk, East Godavari district. A petition was received from the Panchayat Board by the Government that the regular procedure was not followed by the department in putting the tank for auction, that there was no regular notice or tom-tom and that as a result the auction fetched only Rs. 14. It was also stated therein that if there had been a proper auction sale, it would have fetched Rs. 200. Therefore, the petitioners wanted the interference of the Government. Naturally, on such a petition the Government passed an order staying further proceedings and

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called for a report from the Collector. The Collector subsequently sent a report and the Government finally ordered definitely stating that as they found that there had been proper notice, tom-tom and so on, they saw no grounds to interfere and they also cancelled the previous stay order. I do not know, why my hon. Friend should bring on the floor of the House such a small thing as that and try to magnify it and get a report in the papers. Therefore, from what I have just now said, hon. Members can appreciate how the Government have not gone out of their way but on the other hand, they have not only not interfered but have also refused to interfere. I have made this statement, Sir, because I did not want it to go uncontradicted, a statement which has been made on the floor of the House and published in the press. I would assure you, Sir, and the House also that it is never our intention to interfere in anything that is routine and would never like to interfere, first of all, in the administration of any district or particular area."

MR. PRESIDENT :—"The Hon. the Leader of the Opposition has invited Hon. Ministers for lunch at 1-30 p.m. I hope Hon. Ministers will respond, by being present when he speaks."

* SRI A. GOPALAKRISHNAYYA :—"అధ్యక్షా, ఈ బడ్జెటును పరిశీలించి చూచినట్లయితే దీనిలో రైతాంగానికి ఉపయోగపడే హంశాలు ఏమీయు లేనని తెలుసుకొనవచ్చు. రైతుయొక్క యోగక్షేమానియు ఆలోచించి ఈ బడ్జెటును తయారు చేయలేనందుకు నేను చాలా విచారించుచున్నాను."

"ఈ బడ్జెటులో, పంటలు నష్టపోయిన రైతులకు 70 లక్షల రూపాయల శిస్తు రమిషక్ ఇవ్వడలచినట్లుగా సూచించియున్నారు. ఈ విధంగా శిస్తు రమిషక్ ఇచ్చి సండువలన రైతుకు ఏమీ ఉపయోగముండదు. ఇటువంటి శిస్తు రమిషక్ లు మధ్య మధ్యనే అంతరించిపోతాయుగాని రైతుకు పూర్తిగా చేరవు. ఆఖరుకు రైతుకు ఇచ్చేది ఏ నాలుగవ (1/4th) వంతు మాత్రమే ఉంటుంది. ఈ విధంగా రమిషక్ ఇచ్చే కన్న ఆ డబ్బుతో బీ కారణంవల్ల రైతుకు నష్టం సంభవించిందో అటువంటి నష్టాలు కలుగకుండా ప్రోజెక్టులు ఇతర రైతుకు ఉపయోగపడే scheme లు ఆమలు జరిపిస్తే మంచిదని నా అభిప్రాయము."

"ఆ సలు ప్రభుత్వంవారు వారి land revenue policy ని మార్చినేయాలి. ఇప్పుడు ప్రతి చిన్న రైతుకూడా (ఎకరం, రెండు ఎకరాలు ఉన్న ప్రతివాడూకూడా) కన్ను చెల్లించవలసి వస్తోంది. ఇటువంటి చిన్న రైతులమీద కన్నులు వేస్తే వారికి వ్యవసాయం సాగించడమే కష్టంగా ఉంటుంది. కాబట్టి చిన్న రైతులమీద కన్ను పెయ్యడం మంచిదికాదు అసలు ఈ direct taxation విధానమే మారిపోవాలి. ఇంకా ఎక్కువ ఆదాయం కావాలనివస్తే sales tax పెంచండి కాని ఈ విధమైన land revenue policy మార్చినేయాలి. దీనివలన indirect tax వలన రైతుకు ఎక్కువ కష్టం ఉండదని వ్యవసాయం చేయడానికి అయిష్టత చూపించడని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను."

MR. PRESIDENT :—"దీనికి బదులు agricultural income-tax పెయ్యడం మీ అభిప్రాయమా?"

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* SRI A. GOPALAKRISHNAYYA :—“ ఏ tax చేసినా మీదవాడి మీద కాకుండా, ధనవంతులమీద వెయ్యమని నా ఆభిప్రాయము. అసలు ఈ direct taxation పద్ధతి రద్దుచేసి మనిషియొక్క కొనుగోలు శక్తిని ఆధారం చేసుకొని పన్ను వేస్తే చాలా మంచిది. ఆదాయాన్ని బట్టి పన్ను వెయ్యడం చాలా మంచిది. లేకపోతే కొద్ది ఆదాయం వచ్చే రైతులు కన్నులు చెల్లించలేరు.

“ ఈ బడ్జెటుకున్న, ఇవివరల్లో ప్రభుత్వములవారు తయారుచేసిన బడ్జెటుల కన్ను విమోచితం చేశారు. ఈ బడ్జెటులో ఎక్కడా మీదల ప్రసక్తి లేదు.

“ ఇప్పుడు జమీందారీను రద్దు (abolish) చేస్తున్నామని కాబట్టి 25% ఇస్తు తగ్గించమని జమీందారులను అడిగారు. ఇదే గవర్నమెంటువారు ఆయితే ఒక కాన్సిడరా తగ్గించడమని ఆసరు.”

THE HON. SRI KALA VENKATA RAO :—“ ఇప్పుడు ఇస్తు రెమిటెన్స్ 70 లక్షల రూపాయలు ఇచ్చాముకదా ? ”

* SRI A. GOPALAKRISHNAYYA :—“ ఈ రెమిటెన్స్ డబ్బు ఛార్జిగా రైతులకు చేరదని, పుష్కలమైన అంతరించినందున ఇదివరకే మనవి చేశాను. ఈ సంగతి రెవెన్యూ (Revenue Minister) పరిశీలించి చూడాలి తెలిసినటువంటిది.”

THE HON. SRI KALA VENKATA RAO :—“ ఆసలు రైతులదగ్గరనుంచి పన్ను వసూలు చేయకపోతే బాగుంటుందంటారా ? ”

* SRI A. GOPALAKRISHNAYYA :—“ అసలు ఈ direct taxation విధానమే మారితే చాలాని ఆదాయాన్ని ఆధారం చేసుకొని పన్నులు చెల్లి. చే policy ని ప్రభుత్వంవారు ఆనుసరించాలని నా ఆభిప్రాయము.

“ Local fund roadsను గురించి కొరవడంగా మనవి చేస్తాను. నాకు తెలిసినంత వరకు కంకర రోడ్లమీద metal కు బదులు మట్టివేయడం నేనెప్పుడు చూడలేదు. మనకు స్వరాజ్యం వచ్చిన తరువాత ఇటువంటి కొత్త పద్ధతి ఆవశ్యంపడలేదు.”

MR. PRESIDENT :—“ రోడ్లమీద మట్టివేస్తే మంచిదికదా ? ”

* SRI A. GOPALAKRISHNAYYA :—“ ఈ విధంగా మట్టి వేయడంవల్ల వర్షం కురిస్తే రోడ్లంతా మట్టి అయిపోయి బండ్లు వెళ్లడం చాలా కష్టంగా ఉంటుంది. కార్లు కదలడమే కష్టం. మనకు స్వరాజ్యం లభించిన తరువాత metal road ల మీద మట్టివేసి కార్లు నడిపించవలసిన గతి వట్టిందని విచారించుకొన్నాను.

“ మన రాష్ట్ర Food Committee ఇదివరకు జరిగిన రెండు మీటింగులలో రేషనింగు లీమిటేషన్లను de-control వెయ్యమని రెండుసార్లు unanimous గా నిర్ణయం తీసుకునే ప్రభుత్వంవారికి పంపింది. ఈ ఆభిప్రాయాన్నే అసెంబ్లీ, కౌన్సిలు సభ్యులు వెలుబిచ్చియున్నారు. కాని ఇంకా ప్రభుత్వమువారు ఈ విషయమై ఆలోచించినట్లు కనుపించదు. ఈ నాలుగు రోజుల బడ్జెటు చర్చలోను ప్రతి సభ్యుడుచూడగా ఈ రేషనింగ్ ను, కంట్రోలును రద్దుచేసి వెయ్యాలనే చెప్పిన సంగతి మనకు తెలిసినటువంటిది. అంతేకాక ఇంకా Food Department ను ఉంచటంవలన ప్రభుత్వంవారికి 116 లక్షల రూపాయలు ఖర్చవుతాయి. ఈ ఖర్చు అనవసరం. ఉద్యోగముల జీతాల విషయమై ఇంత డబ్బు ఖర్చుపెట్టే కన్న ఈ డబ్బుతో రైతులకు ఉపయోగపడే scheme లను తయారుచేస్తే అధిక ఆహారోత్పత్తి (Grow More Food Campaign) కి ఉపయోగపడుతుంది.

[Sri A. Gopalakrishnayya] [6th March 1948]

“இதேகாக ఈ కాంగ్రెస్ ప్రభుత్వంవారు వచ్చిన తరువాత administration లో ఉద్యోగస్తులు సరిగ్గా చేయలేకుండా ఉన్నారు. జిల్లా కాంగ్రెస్ కమిటీ ప్రెసిడెంట్లు, సెక్రటరీలు జిల్లా కలెక్టర్ల యొక్క, ఇతర అధికారుల యొక్క వసులలో జోక్యం కలుగజేసుకోవడంవల్ల ప్రజలకు న్యాయం జరగటంలేదు. ఈ విధంగా కాంగ్రెస్ ప్రభుత్వం administration లో జోక్యం కలుగజేసుకోవడం మంచిదికాదని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. ఈ విషయమై మంత్రులు తగిన శ్రద్ధ తీసుకొని కాంగ్రెస్ వారి అభిప్రాయానుగుణంగా ప్రభుత్వోద్యోగస్తులు తీర్పులు ఇవ్వకుండా ఉండుటకు తగిన బంధోబస్తులు చేయించవలసినదిగా ప్రభుత్వమువారిని కోరుచున్నాను.

“మరొక విషయం మనవి చేస్తాను. ఈ Food Control విభాగము రైతులకు చాలా అన్యాయము చేసింది. ఎందువల్లనంటే మన రాష్ట్ర Food Committee వారు ధరల నిర్ణయం విషయంలో చాలా శ్రద్ధగా ఆలోచించి వివన్యాయమైన ధరలలో ప్రభుత్వంవారికి, Revenue Board వారికి recommend చేశారు. కాని ప్రభుత్వంవారు ఆ ధరలకన్నా తక్కువ ధరలను నిర్ణయించారు. ఇది ఇల్లాఉండగా దీసంబరు 7 వ తేదీకి దరిమిలాను అప్పినవాటికే ఈ హామ్య ధరలు వర్తిస్తాయని, అంతకుముందు వాటికి పాత ధరలేనని గవర్నరు మెంటువారు ఆర్డర్లు ఇచ్చారు. దీనివల్ల రైతులకు అన్యాయం జరిగింది. దీసంబరు 7 వ తేదీకి ముందుగా అప్పిన కొత్త వంట ధాన్యానికి బస్తాకు సుమారు రూ 2 లు తక్కువ వచ్చింది. ఈ విషయమై ప్రభుత్వంవారు ఆలోచించి రైతులకు జరిగిన అన్యాయాన్ని సరిచేస్తారని ఒక్కనీస్తున్నాను.

“ఇప్పుడు మా మార్పు గోదావరి, పశ్చిమ గోదావరి, కృష్ణా, గుంటూరు, నెల్లూరు జిల్లాలలో సన్న రకముల ధాన్యం వున్నాయి. ఇవి ఢిల్లీ ఫోగం, GEB 24, కివిలీనాంబ, నెల్లూరు మొలకొలుకులు అని నాలుగు రకాలు. ఇవన్నీ చాలా సన్న రకాలు. కాని ప్రభుత్వంవారు వీటికన్నిటికీ ఒకే రకమైన ధర నిర్ణయించలేదు. ఇది అన్యాయం. ఈ విషయంలో నేను మరొకొందరు కలసి Food Minister గారి దగ్గరకు Premier గారి దగ్గరకు deputation వెళ్లాము. వారు ఈ విషయాన్ని గురించి ఆలోచిస్తామని చెప్పినారు. కాని ఇంతవరకు ఏమీ చేయలేదు. దీనికి వారు సంతృప్తి చెప్పవలసి ఉంటుంది. ఈ విషయంలో వారు తగిన శ్రద్ధ తీసుకొని రైతులకు జరిగిన అన్యాయాన్ని సరిచేస్తే నేను చాలా సంతోషిస్తాను.”

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p.m.

* SRI M. K. SUNDARAMA AYYAR:—“తலைவர் அவர்களே, 1948-49-ம் வருஷத்திய వరపు శిల్పపు తிட்டத்தை మ్రీ கோபాల్ రెడ్డి அவர்களால் சாமிரத்தியத்தடனும், நன்றாகவும் போடப்பட்டிருப்பதற்கு நான் என் ஜில்லாவின் சார்பாக வந்தனமளிக்கிறேன். பத்து வருஷங்களுக்கு முன் கணக்கை எடுத்துப்பார்த்தால் நம் மாகாணத்தின் மொத்த வரும்படி 16 கோடி ரூபாயும், சிலவு 16 கோடி ரூபாயாகவும் இருந்தது. இப்பொழுது அது சமார் மூன்று பங்கு ஜாஸ்தியாகி இருக்கிறது. மூன்று பங்குக்கு கொஞ்சம் கூட அதிகம். ஐம்பத்தைந்து கோடி ரூபாய் வருமானமும் 55 கோடி ரூபாய் சிலவும் என்று திட்டம் போட்டிருக்கிறது. இப்பொழுது சிலவினங்கள் பெருகுகிறதேயொழிய வேறு ஒன்றுமில்லை. அதிக சம்பளம் கொடுக்கிறார்கள். நீர்வாகச் சிலவு அதிகமாகி இருக்கிறது. சில ஐட்டங்களில் வருமானமும் அதிகமாகி இருக்கிறது. ஆனால் முதலில் மது விலக்கினால், நம் காங்கிரஸ் சர்க்கார் திட்டப்படி, நம்முடைய மாகாணத்திற்கு வரும்படியாக வந்த ரூபாய் நின்று விட்டது. அதற்கு பதிலாக விற்பனை வரி போடப்பட்டு சரிக்கட்டப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. சமார் 16 கோடி ரூபாய் மது விலக்கினால் ஈடுபட்டிருக்கிறது. அதற்கு பதிலாக விற்பனை வரி போடப்பட்டிருப்பதில் சில பங்கு அதில் வசூல் செய்யப்பட்டுவருகிறது. இந்த விற்பனை வரி சம்மந்தமாக ஒரு சில குறைகள் இருப்பதை கணம் மந்திரி அவர்களுக்குச் சொல்ல விரும்புகிறேன். அதாவது இப்பொழுது வரி உதயோகஸ்தர்கள் எல்லாம்

6th March 1948] [Sri M. K. Sundararama Ayyar]

வியாபாரிகள் வந்தால் அவர்களை சரியாக கவனிப்பது இல்லை. அதாவது உட்காருவதற்கு ஆசனம் கொடுப்பது இல்லை. அவர்களோடு பேசுவதில் கூட ரொம்ப அதிகார தோரணையில் பேசுகிறார்கள். நாம் இப்பொழுது சுய ஆட்சி அடைந்து விட்டதனால் அந்த விஷயத்தில் அவர்கள் நன்றாக கவனித்து அந்த மாதிரி அதிகாரிகளை நியமிக்கும்போது நன்றாக பார்த்து நியமிக்கும்படியாக கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“இப்பொழுது வரி போடுவதில் நம் மாகாணத்தில் நூலுக்கு வரி போடுகிறார்கள். அது எவ்விதம் போடப்படுகிறது என்று வியாபாரிகளுக்கு தெரியாமலிருக்கிறது. இப்பொழுது $\frac{1}{2}$ சதவிகிதம் என்றும் $\frac{1}{2}$ சதவிகிதம் என்றும் நூலுக்கு வரி போடுகிறார்கள். இது எந்த விதமான நூலுக்குப் போடப்படுகிறது என்றும் எவ்விதம் போடப்படுகிறது என்றும் வியாபாரிகளுக்கு தெரியவில்லை. A, B என்ற இனங்களாக வகுலிக்கப்படுகிறதாக சொல்லப்படுகிறது. அந்த இனங்கள் என்ன என்பது தெரியவில்லை. இப்பொழுது நூல் Control-ஐ எடுத்துவிட்டதால் அந்தப் பிரச்சனை எழுகிறது. அதற்காக மில்கனிலேயே இந்த நூல்களுக்கு இந்த sales tax-ஐ போட்டிருக்கலாம். $\frac{1}{2}$ சதவிகிதம், $\frac{1}{2}$ சதவிகிதம் என்று போட்டால் அதை எவ்விதம் பின்னால் வகுலிக்கப் போகிறார்களோ தெரியவில்லை. இந்தப் பிரச்சனையைப்பற்றி ஜில்லா டெக்ஸ்டைல் கமிஷனைக்கு நாய்கள் சொல்லியும் அவர்களும் குழப்பத்தில் தானிருக்கிறார்கள். இன்னும் குழப்பம் ஏற்படாமல் ஏதாவது செய்யவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“இது போக கைநெசவு தொழில் விஷயமாக சில குறைபாடுகள் இருக்கிறது. அதாவது 1938-39-ல் நம் மாகாணத்தில் Facts Finding Committee சற்றுப் பிரயாணம் செய்த காலத்தில் மாகாணத்தில் ஒவ்வொரு ஜில்லாவிலும் எத்தனை தரிகள் இருக்கின்றன என்பதை கணக்கு எடுப்பதற்காக வந்தார்கள். சர்க்கார் உத்தியோகஸ்தர்கள் வந்து கணக்குக் கேட்டால் சரியான கணக்கு கொடுப்பது இல்லை. ஏதாவது புது வரி போடப்போகிறார்களோ என்று பயந்துகொண்டு சரியான கணக்குக் கொடுப்பதில்லை. அந்தப் பிரகாரம் மதுரை ஜில்லாவில் 7,000 தரிகள் இருப்பதாக கணக்குக் கொடுக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. அது சரியான கணக்கு இல்லை. ஆனால் Control வருவதற்கு முன்பாக சாதாரணமாக நம் மாகாணத்தில் இரண்டு லட்சம் தரிகள் ஓடி இருக்கிறது. அதுவும் மிகுந்த சிரமப்பட்டு Control வந்த பிற்பாடு ஐந்து லட்சம் தரிகள் என்று சர்க்காரால் சொல்லப்படுகிறது. ஆனால் தரிகள் கணக்கு சரியாக எடுக்கப்படவில்லை. அதனால் Control வந்தவுடன் அதாவது பங்குகாரர்கள் கொடுப்பது என்று வந்தவுடன் இந்த அசல் தரிகாரர்களுக்கு கார்டுகள் கிடைக்காமல் சாதாரணமாக தரிகள் இருப்பதாக கார்டுகள் வாங்கிக்கொண்டு விற்று லாபம் சம்பாதித்து வருகிறார்கள். ஆதலால் விற்பனையின்பதில் கொஞ்சம் கவனம் செலுத்தவேண்டும். இதில் Control அதிகாரிகள் சரியாக கவனம் செலுத்தவில்லை என்று தோன்றுகிறது. அவர்கள் இதில் சிரத்தையுடன் கவனம் செலுத்தி வந்தால் இந்த நெருக்கடியை கொஞ்சம் சமாளிக்கலாம்.

“இப்பொழுது இந்த ஐந்து லட்சம் தரிகளுக்கு நூல் கொடுப்பதைப் பார்த்தால் மாதத்தில் பத்து நாட்களுக்குத்தான் போதுமானதாக இருக்கிறது என்று சர்க்காராலேயே ஒப்புக் கொள்ளப்பட்டுவந்தது. இந்த அசல் தரிகாரர்களுக்கு பத்து நாட்களுக்குத்தான் இந்த நூல் வந்தது. ஆகையால் மற்ற 20 நாட்களுக்கும் அவர்கள் இருட்டு மார்க்கெட்டில்தான் வாங்கி கொண்டிருந்தார்கள். இவ்விதமாக சராசரியாக 20 நாட்களுக்கு இருட்டு மார்க்கெட்டில் வாங்கிக்கொண்டு வந்து நெசவு தொழில் செய்து வந்தார்கள். அப்பொழுது சண்டை காலமாக இருந்ததால் இந்த கைநெசவு ஜவுளிகளுக்கு கிராக்கி இருந்தது. அப்பொழுது மில் டுனிகளை அகப்படவில்லை. இப்பொழுது Control-ஐ எடுத்தவுடன் இந்த கை நெசவு ஜவுளிகளுக்கு கிராக்கி கிடையாது. கை நெசவே வேண்டாம் என்ற நிலைமைக்கு வந்திருக்கிறது. கைத்தொழிலும் இப்பொழுது கெட்டுப் போய் விட்டது. மில் டுனிகளுக்கு Control எடுத்தவுடன் அவைகள் வெளியில் வந்துவிட்டது. மில் டுனிகள் கூட விற்பனையாகாமல் ஏராளமாக குவிந்து கிடக்கிறது. வாங்குவதற்கு கிராக்கிகள் இல்லை. Control-ஐ எடுத்தவுடன் ஏதோ

[Sri M. K. Sundararama Ayyar] [6th March 1948]

கொஞ்சம் விலை ஏறின.* எப்பொழுது கடைக்குப் போனாலும் கொடுக்கத் தயாராக இருக்கிறார்கள். மில் துணிகளுக்கே இவ்விதம் ஏற்பட்டிருக்கும் போது கை நெசவுக்கு எங்கே கிராக்கி வரப்போகிறது! கை நெசவு துணிகளுக்கு கிராக்கி இல்லை என்றே சொல்லலாம்.

“இந்த கை நெசவு துணிகளுக்கு மாகாணத்திலிருந்து வெளியே போவதற்கு Permit System வைத்திருக்கிறார்கள். அது அவசியம் இல்லை என்று தோன்றுகிறது. மத்ய சர்க்கார் கடல்கடந்த நாட்டிற்கு போவதற்கு Permit கொடுத்து வருகிறார்கள். மாகாணத்திற்கு நூல் வருவதற்கு கட்டுப்பாடு கிடையாது. ஆகையால் ரேஷன் மூலமாக இப்பொழுது கொடுத்துவரும் நூல்களிலிருந்து மத்ய சர்க்கார் மூலமாக அனுப்புகிறார்கள். வெளி நாடுகளில் மில் துணிகள் இல்லை. ஆகையால் அந்த கை நெசவு ஜவளிகளுக்கும் நூல்களுக்கும் Control-ஐ எடுத்து விடவேண்டியது அவசியமாக இருக்கிறது. கை நெசவு ஜவளிகளுக்கு கிராக்கி இல்லாமல் Stock கையிட வைத்துக்கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். இப்பொழுது மார்க்கெட்டில் பணக்கஷ்டமாக இருக்கிறது. முந்தி இருந்த உபரி பணமெல்லாம் இப்பொழுது எங்கே போய்விட்டது என்று தெரியவில்லை. இப்பொழுது பணமில்லாமல் கஷ்டப்படுகிறார்கள். கை நெசவு தொழிலுக்கு கிராக்கி இல்லாமல் தவித்துக்கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். ஆகையால் தொழில் வெற்றிகரமாக நடப்பதற்கு Control-ஐ எடுத்துவிட வேண்டுமாய் கனம் தொழில் மந்திரி அவர்களை கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். Control செய்யாமலிருந்தால் நூல் எல்லோருக்கும் கிடைக்கும். Control இருப்பதால் அசல் தரிகாரர்களுக்கு நூல் கிடைக்கவில்லை. Control-ஐ எடுத்துவிட்டால் இப்பொழுது இருக்கும் பேல்களை வைத்துக்கொண்டு அசல் தரிகாரர்களுக்கு நூல் கொடுத்துவிடலாம். இல்லாவிட்டால் அசல் தரிகாரர்கள் சும்மா இருந்துவிடுவார்கள். மாகாணத்தில் இப்பொழுது இருக்கும் பேல்கள் போதும்.

“நம்முடைய கை நெசவு தொழில் விஷயமாக நம் மாகாண சர்க்கார் ஏதோ உபகாரம் செய்வதாக பத்திரிகைகளின் மூலம் தெரியவருகிறது. வியாபாரிகளை Co-operative Society-களில் சேர்த்துக்கொள்ளும்படி தயார் செய்தார்கள். ஆனால் Co-operative Society-ல் சேர்ந்தவர்களுக்கு வேலை இல்லாமல் கஷ்டப்படுகிறார்கள். சர்தாரணமாக வெளியில் போகும் பீஸ்களை குறைக்கவேண்டுமென்று இப்பொழுது தயார் செய்யப்படுகிறது. மதுரை, கோயம்புத்தூர், சேலம் முதலிய இடங்களுக்கு இப்பொழுது வேலை இல்லை. அவர்கள் சும்மா இருக்கிறார்கள்.

“இப்பொழுது நூல் சம்மந்தமாக சாயம் போடுவதில் சர்க்கார் கவனம் செலுத்தவில்லை. சாயம் போடுவதற்கு வேண்டிய Chemicals-ஐ வாங்கிக்கொடுத்தால் செளகரியமாக இருக்கும். மாகாண டெக்ஸ்டைல் கமிஷனரிடம் முறையிட்டார்கள். அவரால் ஒன்றும் செய்யமுடியவில்லை. Hypo-sulphate என்று ஒன்று இருக்கிறது. அது சாயம் போடுவதற்கு உபயோகம் அவசியம். அது மாகாணத்தில் ஒரு பங்கு கிடைக்கிறது. Co-operative Society யிலும் நமக்கு கொடுத்துவருகிறார்கள். ஆனால் Imperial Chemical Industries மூலமாக கொடுப்பதை 12 அணு, 13 அணு என்று கொடுக்கிறார்கள். ஆனால் Co-operative Society மூலமாக கொடுப்பது, ரூ. 1-3-0, ரூ. 1-4-0 என்று கொடுக்கிறார்கள். சமார் 30 சதவிதம், 40 சதவிதம் அதிகமாக இருக்கிறது. இப்படி குடிசைத் தொழிலுக்கு சிரத்தை காட்டாமல் அதிகம் வைத்துவிற்பது குடிசைத் தொழிலுக்கு எவ்விதம் உபகாரம் செய்வதாகும். இதற்கு Caustic Soda அவசியமாக இருக்கிறது. அதுவும் சரியாகக் கொடுப்பது இல்லை. அந்த ரூ. 20 என்று விற்பனை Caustic Soda இருட்டு மார்க்கெட்டில் இப்பொழுது ரூ. 130, 140 என்று விற்பனை வாங்குகிறார்கள். இதில் சர்க்கார் கொஞ்சம் கவனம் செலுத்தவேண்டும்.

“சோப் தயார் செய்கிறவர்களுக்கு Caustic Soda ரொம்பவும் அவசியமானது. நம்மாகாணத்தில் சர்க்காரால் நடத்தப்படும் Kerala Soap Institute-க்கு Caustic Soda சர்க்காரால் கொடுக்கப்படுவதால் அது நல்ல லாப தெசையில்லிருக்கிறது. சாதாரணமாக தொழில் விஷயத்தில் சர்க்கார் சிரத்தை ஜாஸ்தியாக எடுத்துக்கொள்ளவேண்டும்.

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“நம்மானத்தில் தொழில் மூலம்தான் பொருள் விருத்தியாகும். பொருள் இருந்தால் தான் செலவு செய்ய முடியும். தொழில் விஷயத்தில் சென்ற வருஷம் Industrial Financial Corporation-க்கு ரூ. 50 லட்சம் ஒதுக்கப்பட்டிருந்தது. இந்த வருஷம் Shares ஆக எடுத்துக்கொள்வதென்று இருந்தது. எவ்வளவு தூரம் நடைபெற்றிருக்கிறது என்று தெரியவில்லை. சென்ற வருஷம் மூல பொருள்களாகிய சிமெண்டு, சோப் இவைகள் தயார் செய்வதற்காக ரூ. 50 லட்சம் ஒதுக்கப்பட்டிருந்தது. ஆனால் ஒன்றும் செய்யப்படவில்லை. அதை இந்த வருஷம் நிறுத்தி இருக்கிறார்கள். ஆகையால் மூல பொருள்கள் அதாவது தொழில் அபிவிருத்திக்கு சிமெண்டு, சோடா, Caustic Soda, Bleaching Powder இவைகளை தயார் செய்வதை சர்க்கார் எடுத்துக்கொண்டால் ஜவளிக்காரர்களுக்கும், சோப்புக்காரர்களுக்கும் மிகுந்த நலமாக இருக்குமென்று கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.”

MR. PRESIDENT:—“ டயமாகிவிட்டது.”

* SRI M. K. SUNDARARAMA AYYAR:—“ இன்னும் இரண்டு நிமிஷம் வேண்டும். நம் மதுரை ஜில்லாவிலும் மற்றும் பக்கத்தில் ஆறு பறகுக்குறை ஜில்லாக்களிலும் உணவு Control-ஐ எடுத்து விட்டார்கள். இன்னும் மூன்று முனிசிபல் நகரங்களில் வைத்துக்கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். மதுரை, திண்டுக்கல், கோடைக்கானல் முதலிய இடங்களில் இருக்கிறது. இன்றைய தினம் பேரில் பார்த்தேன். கோடைக்கானல் மீலமில் இருக்கிறது. அங்கே நிலம் கிடையாது. அந்த பிரதேசத்தில் Decontrol செய்து விட்டார்கள். ஆனால் மதுரை, திண்டுக்கல் இந்த இடங்களில் பாக்கி இருக்கிறது. இந்த ஜில்லாவிலிருந்து பக்கத்து ஜில்லாக்களுக்கு லாரிகள் மூலமாகவும் வண்டிகள் மூலமாகவும் உணவு பொருள் போய்க்கொண்டிருக்கின்றன. இப்பொழுது அறுவடை காலமானதால் பாதி கொண்டுபோய்விட்டார்கள். இன்னும் பாதிதானிருக்கிறது. அதைத்தடுக்காவிட்டால் இன்னும் கொஞ்சம் நாளில் மதுரையில் ஒரு தானியம்கூட இல்லாமல் போய்விடும். பஞ்சம் வந்துவிடும். இதைப்பற்றி கலெக்டரிடமும் சொன்னோம். Dr. Rajan அவர்களுக்கும் எழுதி இருந்தோம் Control-ஐ எடுத்துவிடவேண்டுமென்று. இன்னும் பதில் வரவில்லை. சீக்கிரம் ஏதாவது ஏற்பாடு செய்வார்களென்று நினைக்கிறேன்.”

* DR. V. K. JOHN:—“ Mr. President, Sir, I believe I am 1 p.m. the last of the non-official speakers before the Minister's reply. I may be given permission to say how obliged all the non-official speakers are to you for having given every one of them an opportunity to speak and speak all they wanted to speak. On a previous occasion I said that you are an ideal President and will adorn any Legislature. We on this side are so happy that on the Budget discussion we were allowed to have our full say. Now I would like the Hon. Ministers to have their full say, and therefore I would be as brief as possible.”

MR. PRESIDENT:—“ I was just going to make that request.”

* DR. V. K. JOHN:—“ There is one fact which is revealed in the Budget speech of the Hon. the Finance Minister, and on which I must very heartily congratulate Government. That is a fact which ought to be known widely throughout the Province, outside the Province, and also outside this country. That fact should be known to all investors of money. That fact, Sir, is that the finances of this Province are very sound—perhaps very much sounder than the finances of many countries in the world. The Finance Minister has pointed out in his speech that the total outstanding loans amount to Rs. 25 crores while our normal revenue

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is about Rs. 50 crores. We have a reserve fund very much more than the debt. Sir, if I were an investor I would choose the bonds issued by this Province of Madras for safe investment. I congratulate the Hon. Minister and the Government on the soundness of the finances of this Province. It is a very notable aspect of the Budget, which I think ought to receive due publicity.

"Another point on which I should like to congratulate Government and particularly the Home Minister is that due precautions have been taken, and adequate steps provided for to preserve law and order in this Province. Sir, the primary and fundamental duty of a Government is to preserve law and order and I congratulate the Home Minister and Government on their having taken adequate steps in that direction. I must also congratulate leaders of public opinion in the Province that they have co-operated with Government in a manner that we have set an example to other Provinces in maintaining peace. There never has been any disturbance in this Province worth the name. I do not however agree with the Home Minister that associations like the R.S.S., the Hindu Mahasabha and others should be suppressed at all or that people should be put in jail without trial. Our Deputy Leader has already elaborated on this subject, and as I have very little time, I do not wish to say anything further than to point out that in our opinion it is very wrong that people should be put in jail without trial. They should be brought before Courts if Government want to interfere with their personal liberty. (Interruption by the Hon. Dr. P. Subbarayan.) I must also say that I expect the Home Minister to tell us and satisfy this House and the public at large why so many persons have been arrested, houses searched and individual freedom interfered with, and why all these people have not been brought to trial. Yesterday, he (Home Minister) has taken action against the Communist party led by his illustrious son. (Laughter.) Sir, I hold no brief for the Communist party. I do not belong to it. But I understand it is a political party in opposition to Government and in my opinion any Government in power should be very careful in dealing with political parties in opposition to the Government. It is very improper on the part of the Government to put political leaders in opposition in jail.

"I must now pass on to another topic which has some bearing on the Budget. I appreciate, and I think every hon. Member of this House appreciates, the action taken by His Highness the Raja of Pudukottah to have his State merged in the Indian Union. It touches our Budget in a way. I think the Hon. Finance Minister ought to have seen the signs of times and provided a token sum of Rs. 100 in anticipation of the merging of this State in our Province. I am hoping that others will realize that in this Free India the aristocracy of birth and the aristocracy of wealth should give place to the aristocracy of talent and service. I therefore hope that the example of the Raja of Pudukottah will be followed by others as well. Sir, if we are to see that capital does not fly from this Province on account of Sales Tax, if we are to see that

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large irrigation works are carried out, if we are to see that we have linguistic provinces as desired by many people (not by me), and if we are to enforce Prohibition, certainly the Indian States surrounding our Province should be liquidated or at any rate there must be responsible Government set up in those States. I am hoping that the example of the Raja of Pudukottah will be followed by others.

" Sir, having said this, I want to pass on to the Budget and look at the Budget from the point of view of the common man. As you know, Sir, the primary object of the party, United Democrats, which I have the honour to lead, is to promote the welfare of the common man. I look at the Budget from the point of view of the welfare of the common man. The Budget reflects—and we feel it ought to reveal—the policy of the Government, the principle on which that policy is based, and the programme to implement that policy. Now, looked at from the point of view of the common man, what is it that he wants first? He wants honest, remunerative employment. I ask, Sir, have this Government done anything to promote the welfare of the common man in securing or providing for opportunities for honest, remunerative employment for every man (and woman) who desires employment in this Province. Sir, have the Government ever made a list of the unemployed in this Province as is made by other Governments in other civilized parts of this world? I can take the Hon. Ministers to various places in the City where workmen are employed. There, they will find notice boards hanging at the gates with the inscription 'no vacancy'. Hundreds and hundreds of people are waiting for jobs. If only you tom-tom in this City and ask people who are unemployed to gather in the Government House compound, you will find hundreds of graduates, and thousands of under-graduates without jobs, and some tens of thousands of able-bodied men—both skilled and unskilled—ready to take up jobs. What have the Government done for these men? Have they made a list? Is there a department of the Government to make a list of the unemployed? In England, Sir, you have many measures like the Unemployment Insurance Act, 1920 and the National Insurance Act, 1936, which has been repealed but re-enacted in 1947, whereby provision is made for old age, for infirmity, for widows, and for orphans, and provision is made for unemployment insurance. Have we done anything like that here? Have this Government made any attempt to promote the welfare of the common man to find suitable employment? Do they know that there are millions of people unemployed in this Province. This Government have done nothing in the discharge of their primary duty of securing employment for the unemployed, and therefore I say that they do not care for the welfare of the common man. I say, Sir, this Government have not cared for the welfare of the common man their primary duty—in that they have not provided for old age, for orphans and widows, and for unemployment insurance. Session after session we find legislation is brought before this House taking away the jurisdiction of the Courts, and

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taking away also the jurisdiction of this House. We find no legislation brought in to promote the welfare of the common man. I ask my friends on the other side whether they can, with any justice or equity, call themselves a popular Government? Can they call themselves a National Government? Sir, I charge them with neglecting the welfare of the common man. The Government might say 'well; we cannot employ all people as you are all opposing nationalisation'. To that my answer is that they must encourage private industry. They must make out a list of goods consumed in this Province and imported into this Province. They must see whether they can produce them locally. I agree they may not be able to produce petrol in this Province. But there are hundreds of other items which are imported into this Province but which can be produced in this Province itself by encouraging private industry.

1-15
p.m.

"The other day I visited Mr. G. D. Naidu's factory at Coimbatore. Mr. G. D. Naidu is a great inventive genius. During the last hundred years South India has not produced one like him and for another thousand years we may not produce so great an inventive genius. There are 18 major inventions to his credit. His major inventions can be made use of if you put a crore of rupees or two. He can produce motor cars, engines, pumps and many other things. But the Government would not look at him. The Government is not interested in the development of private industries. On the other hand the Government have been actually discouraging and hampering private industry. They are expropriating private property. One of the objects of the United Democrats Party is to see that there is no expropriation of private property. I am putting emphasis on this point. I wish to cite an instance to the credit of an Hon. Minister who is present in the House now. He is a friend of mine. But I have to criticise him very seriously and very harshly. Although he is a good friend of mine, it is my duty to criticise him. I mean the Transport Minister. It is not right that the Government should prejudiciously interfere with private industry. You have created an impression in the Province that private industries and property will be expropriated and that this Province is not the place where capital should be invested. Capital will fly from this Province. A recent instance which came to my notice has shuddered me. The Minister and his department must have known it. If he does not know it, he should not be in his place. His department had requisitioned from George Oakes & Co., Ltd., a large number of chassis at prices less than the cost paid by the company."

THE HON. MR. DANIEL THOMAS :—"That matter is under the consideration of the Government."

* DR. V. K. JOHN :—"This budget has been characterized by the Hon. Finance Minister as a 'Prohibition Budget.' Someone else said that this was a stand-still Budget. I say that this budget is an 'under consideration Budget'. I can point out 24 subjects

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that are under consideration. If you will read the budget speech, you will find that everything is under consideration. Irrigation is under consideration. Food production is under consideration and Industrial development is under consideration. Advancement in Education is under consideration. Every other matter is under consideration. The words 'under consideration' mean that the matter is under red-tape and red-tape means 'shelved'. If you examine the cost of Government stationery you will find that red-tape costs a good portion.

"I have got figures here of the instance I am referring to. I take full responsibility. George Oakes & Co. paid Rs. 7,839 for each chassis. The actual cost at which they should sell it should be a little more. They must get some profit. They would have incurred some expenditure in connexion with their purchase. The Government fix fair price for motor vehicles. The price fixed by the department of the Hon. Minister and paid to the company is Rs. 7,535, while the cost price to the company is Rs. 7,839. The total loss to the company on account of this transaction is about Rs. 50,000 and over. I am told that the company has made its representation both to the Hon. Mr. Daniel Thomas and to Dr. Subbarayan. It is stated now that the matter is under consideration. The Government have actually taken possession of the chassis. I am not pleading on behalf of George Oakes & Co., Ltd. I am speaking of the impression created in the city on account of the expropriation of private property by Government taking things below their value . . ."

THE HON. MR. DANIEL THOMAS :—"Question."

MR. PRESIDENT :—"The Hon. Minister says that the matter is under consideration. Have not the Government got power to fix their own price?"

DR. V. K. JOHN :—"When the Government requisitions property it should pay fair price according to law. But if the chassis requisitioned are not delivered the offender may be sentenced to three years' imprisonment, under the Act passed by this Legislature."

MR. PRESIDENT :—"I take it that the Government fix the price on some basis."

* DR. V. K. JOHN :—"I take responsibility for making the statement that the Government has expropriated private property. Why? Because the Government wanted to show that they are running the transport business at a profit. It is a fact that the Government requisitioned the chassis at below their cost price . . ."

MR. PRESIDENT :—"It may be due to some miscalculation."

* DR. V. K. JOHN :—"The Hon. Minister says that the matter is under consideration. In another case the cost price was . . ."

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Rs. 6,449 and the Government took delivery of the chasses at Rs. 6,218. This is a very serious matter, because it has created a general impression among the investors of capital in the city and elsewhere that this Government are expropriating private property without paying adequate price. You, Sir, know the fundamental principle which has been accepted and has been in force for about 100 years and enforced by enactments in force in this country, that when property is compulsorily acquired the Government not only pay adequate price but also solatium at 15 per cent. You know of such a provision in the Land Acquisition Act. The Transport Minister thinks that he can very well show a profit if he takes motor vehicles from others at less than cost price. What is the impression that is created against this Government? The impression is that the Government is against every private enterprise. Capital will fly away to Bangalore, Travancore or Cochin. The companies can easily transfer their Bank balances to Banks outside the Province by the stroke of a pen. But labour cannot so easily move out of the Province. We are in that situation. This Government has already created a bad impression. The Government is driving capital away and creating unemployment.

"I now pass on to another matter referred to by my hon. Friend Dr. Sir Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar and he referred to a case in Court. The particulars of the case are these. Under an Act of the Central Legislature and according to well-accepted principles of running transport buses, the minimum period for which permits should be given to buses, is three years. I know all the facts myself because I argued the case. The Government wanted to see that the three years' period provided under the Central Act was not given. They wanted to get round the law. They issued executive instructions to quasi-judicial bodies, that is, the Transport Authorities, to give permits only for four months for a normal transport need. I gave a legal opinion to Bus Owners' Association. That opinion was upheld by the court. I was of opinion that the Government had no authority to do so; still they did so. All of us make mistakes. The Government made a mistake and should accept the opinion of the High Court but they are now trying to get round the High Court judgment. The Government went against the rules, because it would have to pay compensation if permits were given for three years. When it takes private property of an individual, the Government must always give compensation as much as the seller would get if he sold it in the market to somebody else. When the Government takes private property by compulsion it must also give some solatium in addition. Did the Transport Minister do so? He issued orders to the Transport Authority not to issue permits for three years—although section 58 of the Imperial Act provides for it—but only for four months. The matter was taken to the High Court. The Government had no jurisdiction to do what they did. The Government acted arbitrarily to avoid payment of adequate compensation to the transport owners running buses. Is this in the interest of

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the Government? Is it in the interest of the people? Is it in the interest of private enterprise? I am now concerned here with employment for the unemployed. The Government cannot employ a large number of our unemployed. Private enterprise can employ them. The Government should not give the impression that it is out for expropriating private property. If so, no business can be carried on, and there will be no private enterprise. Expropriation of private property is a very serious matter. I ask the Government 'do not rush into places where angels fear to tread'.

"I want the Government to provide for employment to the unemployed. You must make out a list of the unemployed and find out how they can be given employment and how many of them can be employed . . ."

MR. PRESIDENT :—"If the hon. Member would finish his speech in a few minutes, we may adjourn for lunch at 1-45 p.m. instead of at 1-30 p.m. as usual."

* DR. V. K. JOHN :—"I shall finish my speech in a few minutes. What I suggest to the Transport Minister and to the Government is that they 'encourage private industry, encourage people to start private industries, finance them if necessary and find employment for people who are unemployed'. The Government is doing a mistake in not encouraging private enterprise. The Government should give the employees a share in the profit of their business. The Government must encourage companies being started under the Indian Companies Act. Give the management of these concerns to non-officials, to businessmen who knows the business. The Government officials are not competent to do business. Give the management of the business to people who are competent. Let the Government take a block of shares, say, 25 per cent of the capital. If there is profit, the Government can take a certain percentage, for themselves, and give the balance to people employed in the business. Then there will be no strikes. In industry like agriculture, there is the human problem. There should be the profit motive. Give the employee an interest in the concern. Start such concerns in every place.

"I know that every Minister including the Hon. Minister for Transport is anxious to do something for the common man. I do not doubt their sincerity. We had a bureaucratic Government and all our Government servants were controlled by a foreign bureaucracy. But now we have a popular Government under the control of our own Ministers. Yet our Government servants have not changed their hearts, and they have not become the real servants of the people. They still think that they are masters and not servants of the public. The departments of Agriculture and Industries must be bee-hives of activity for the services of the people. These Government servants agitate for more pay. We also find many people are going without food every day. Tens of thousands of people are daily starving without food and without

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shelter. Do this Government care for the welfare of the common man? If they do, they must find remunerative employment for the unemployed. For this they must encourage private industry. I want to tell this to the Hon. Mr. Daniel Thomas and others: 'Do not go on the road of expropriation'. If you do so who are the people who will suffer. It is not the capitalists who will suffer but it is the common man for whom I am pleading. First give the common man honest remunerative employment. What does the common man want next? He wants food, food not at the black market rate but at the price he usually buys. I must congratulate the Hon. Finance Minister for the frankness with which he has made certain admissions in his budget speech. At page 11 of his budget speech, he says *'the cost of living index for Madras City for December 1947 was 298.9 as against 249.0 in December 1946. The prices of consumers' goods generally continue to be high. It is hoped that production will become more adequate to meet the demand and that prices will fall gradually to a more reasonable level.'* A pious hope not even under consideration!

"Now, Sir, can they claim to be a popular Government, a national Government if they cannot keep prices down? The reason given for this shortage of food is short supply. What does the Finance Minister say about this? He says that land under cultivation has decreased. Take it, Sir, from me—I am not able to find out the exact place where he has stated so—that in 1947 not one cent more of uncultivated land was brought under cultivation than what it was in previous years. What have they done under the scheme of 'Grow More Food campaign'? I ask, Sir, why they cannot allow every district to compete with every other district in extending and intensifying cultivation."

THE HON. SRI K. MADHAVA MENON:—"The Hon. Finance Minister has not said in any part of his speech that more land was not brought under cultivation."

* DR. V. K. JOHN:—"At page 7 of his budget speech this is what he has stated and I shall read it:—

'The total area cultivated in the Province from April to November 1947 was below normal and less than the corresponding figure for the previous year.'

Sir, if I know the King's language, it means not what the Hon. Mr. Madhava Menon said. In plain language it means that the total area cultivated in 1946-47 was less than what it was in the previous year. Now, they have not put their little finger to increase the area of cultivation. What should have been their policy with regard to food production? They should have stepped up food production. Unless food and other necessary articles are produced in sufficient quantities to meet the demands of the people, the common man is not helped. I say this Government have thoroughly failed in achieving this object. Some of you should have studied economics and you must know where this black

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marketing and corruption and high prices will lead to? The speeches that are made from platforms by the Hon. Ministers do not benefit the common man. He does not derive any benefit from such speeches. All these politicians make their speeches in some place or other and open some building or other and feel satisfied that their names appear in the newspapers. Unless the Government aim at stepping up production and guarantee fair prices and unless they are able to secure employment—both of these are interconnected—the common man is not in any way benefited. I had a discussion with an officer of the Central Government on the subject of control. He told me that 'this is the harvest time and all the rich people will have plenty of food for some months to come; but you will face a very serious famine very soon'; I ask the Hon. Food Minister to provide for food ration for the poor people. The rich can afford to get their supplies from black market.

"I pass on now to another subject, viz., Education. It is the primary responsibility of the State to give primary and secondary education (free and compulsory) and also free University education to their people. We say we have got independence. The Hon. the Minister for Education ought to find sufficient number of schools and colleges for boys and girls. The Hon. Minister cannot go on and be pleading in the same way as hitherto. Some of us are married and have children and we know how heart-rending it is when children cannot get admission to schools and colleges. It is an atrocious thing for a National Government to say that there are not sufficient number of schools and colleges for all boys and girls to be admitted into them. The wealth of the country is in these boys and girls. It is a heinous crime to say when a boy or girl comes and asks for admission in a school or college 'there are no seats available'. The Hon. Minister for Education is a bachelor and cannot understand what parents feel."

MR. PRESIDENT:—"In the Central Government they referred to the 'taxing of bachelors.'"

* DR. V. K. JOHN:—"Chronic bachelors never yield to advice. I shall make an honest attempt to get the Hon. Minister of Education married."

"Sir, I do not say all these in a joke. Now, Sir, it is a great offence and a great sin for a National Government to tell any boy or girl 'There is no room for you'. It is atrocious to say even on the ground that a particular boy or girl belongs to Brahmin community or any other community. Government ought to see that every boy or girl gets admission. The only remedy is to give sentence to the Hon. Minister for Education to be hanged by the neck, not until his death but until such time the boy or the girl gets admission into the school or the college and do this in the presence of his Colleagues and repeat it every time a boy or girl is refused admission."

"Now, Sir, I pass on to shelter. The average man not only wants employment, necessities of life at fair prices, education facilities for his children but he also wants shelter and thousands

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and thousands of people are now without shelter. I see from his face that Mr. Daniel Thomas is happy over it. He is giving speeches from platforms and broadcasting on radios saying house construction is under consideration, but not one house in Madras City has sprung up after he began to say 'it is under consideration'. Now, Sir, what the common man wants is shelter and not speeches. The common man wants in addition sanitation, protected water-supply and all other things for his health; but all these things are denied to him. I see Mr. Shetty is very anxious to push his department through, but he is not supplied with funds. Why, Sir? It is because of the waste of 18 crores on Prohibition. Sir, I am not for collecting from the poor man 18 crores to be added to the revenues of this Province. I am not against people who drink. Sir drunkenness and drinking are different. Take it from me, I am a tee-totaller, a perfect tee-totaller but I do not see why a poor man should not go to his club—not the Cosmopolitan Club where we go—and have a drink of toddy if it is not injurious to his health and if he does not get drunk. I ask, Sir, why not ration toddy. The drunken man addicted to drink is in the same position. My hon. Friend, Mr. Daniel Thomas knows that there is much boot-legging as my hon. Friend Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar pointed out the other day and the Hon. Minister knows that the man who was drinking before will continue to drink and the Government are trying to do the impossible. I ask, why don't you ration toddy in one district and educate the drunkards. Drunkards are still drinking. There is corruption everywhere and you are trying to do the impossible. Now in regard to the 18 crores, I ask why not give two crores out of it to the Minister for Education and it is again for the common man; two crores for the villages for water-supply and sanitation and why not two crores for the Industries to spring up and two more crores for irrigation and two crores for the other amenities for the common man. You can also give two more crores to the Health Minister. I say, there is no sense of proportion. Sir, out of ten per cent who drink only one per cent get drunk. Therefore, to see that that one per cent does not get drunk, you waste 18 crores of public money. Instead of spending these 18 crores, this amount ought to have been distributed at the rate of two crores each for the various nation-building and productive schemes. Therefore, I say, Sir, the Government have no sense of proportion. Instead of attending to what is necessary for the welfare of the common man what is it they are doing? This is a capitalist Budget and a Budget not intended to benefit the common man. It does not benefit the capitalist either. On a socio-political theory they must have prohibition and they are wasting crores of rupees in this province. I charge the Government for neglecting the welfare of the common man, I charge them for interfering with the personal liberty of the individual, I charge them for wasting the public revenues of this province and I charge them for expropriating private property; for the defence of it all my party has been constituted."

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MR. PRESIDENT :—" Shall we reassemble at 2-30 p.m. ? "

THE HON. DR. P. SUBBARAYAN :—" 2-30 p.m. is too early; we shall meet at 2-45 p.m, Sir."

MR. PRESIDENT :—" If it is 2-45 p.m. that is no sacrifice."

THE HON. DR. P. SUBBARAYAN :—" Not necessary to make any sacrifice, Sir."

The House then adjourned to meet again at 2-45 p.m.

(After lunch—2-45 p.m.)

* THE HON. SRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIYAR :—" In replying, Sir, I am sorry to say that the Hon. the Leader of the Opposition who was so very enthusiastic that everybody must be here is not present—I see he is coming by the back-door. I hope, Sir, he will always continue to maintain that courtesy which will make him present in the House when others speak.

" Sir, coming to the few words which he addressed towards the end of his speech, while I am grateful for the fine way in which he referred to me, I would like to tell him what the Government have done to accommodate greater numbers in colleges and schools. If I take this House through a few figures they will appreciate the colossal nature of the problem. In 1940-41 and even in 1941-42, about five years back, the total number of students in colleges was only 21,188 and if this is compared with the number of students that were studying in 1946-47—not to talk of 1947-48 in which it has been accepted that admissions have considerably increased—the number admitted was 38,590, i.e., in the course of five years, the seats in colleges have nearly doubled. I do not think it is possible for any Government to do more than create double the number of seats in colleges. When I come to the number of colleges, it has increased from 77 to 105. While on this matter, I must acknowledge with gratitude the help the University has been giving us in trying to maintain the large number of students who have been admitted in the colleges. Time was when only three shifts were working and at my instance the University very kindly agreed to the admission of four batches and in Science courses they expect further possibilities by which greater numbers could be admitted in colleges. So, Sir, it is not that Government have been keeping mum over this problem, but are trying to do their best and what they have done is by no means small. They have accommodated nearly more than cent per cent of the seats that were available for students five years back. Now, if I give figures of admission in the B.A. and Intermediate classes, it was about 5,000 in the Intermediate alone in the Madras University area in 1941-42 and now, Sir, it is 12,192 students, which is very much more than it was five years back and I do not think any Government could have done better.

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"Coming, Sir, to Technical colleges these technical colleges under the department over which I have the honour to preside, are only engineering colleges. I may give a few data which I hope this House will receive with satisfaction. In 1942 there were only two Engineering colleges and in 1947-48 the number of engineering and technical colleges is 7. This House knows the tremendous cost and the lack of good personnel that this involves. The number of students studying in the Engineering and Technical colleges, which was 425 in 1942 is 1,208 today. Even here, Sir, there is an increase of about 200 per cent of what it was in 1942."

DR. V. K. JOHN :—"On a point of information, Sir. The Hon. Minister compares the figures with 1947-48. Why not he take those of 1941?"

* THE HON. SRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIYAR :—"Yes, Sir. In 1946 the number was 609 and in 1947 it was 1,208 and the number of colleges in 1946 was 4 and after the Congress came to power two more Engineering colleges at Anantapur and Cocanada were started and another Technological college at Coimbatore. We are trying to put them on a permanent basis and shift them to their respective places in the current year. So, Sir, even taking 1946 when there were only four engineering colleges, after we came into power the number has increased to seven and the number of students studying in them is 1,208, practically double the number of students studying two years before which is by no means small. (Dr. V. K. John: Though creditable, it is not sufficient.) I am not here to receive a certificate from Dr. John, who being in Opposition and occupying a responsible place, can say many things, which I cannot say."

DR. V. K. JOHN :—"Opposition is responsible and more responsible than the Government themselves."

MR. PRESIDENT :—"I thought the hon. Member said irresponsible."

DR. V. K. JOHN :—"Responsible or irresponsible?"

MR. PRESIDENT :—"Irresponsibility means, without responsibility for doing all those things which he has to do."

* THE HON. SRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIYAR :—"Exactly, Sir, that is just the meaning. Sir, coming to the other point raised by Members of this House—and sometimes by members of other House also—namely, admissions, it has been said, why this regulation of admissions according to the communal proportions and why should not everybody be admitted according to what is called merit. In this matter, Sir, as the House already knows, there is a difference of opinion and I am not quite sure whether my hon. Friend, Mr. Jagannatham, will agree with that view. This position now is this. Let us examine the figures. I have got the figures for 1947-48 with me here and let us see whether any community has suffered by these admissions. There is a feeling outside that a certain community which was getting a large number of admissions in colleges before has failed to get

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admission this year because of the present rules. Out of the 12,192 students admitted in the Arts Colleges for the Intermediate courses, the numbers are :

Brahmins—4,178 nearly more than 33-1/3 per cent ;

Non-Brahmins—5,603 ;

Muslims—630 ;

Christians and Anglo-Indians—1,341 ; and

Harijans—275 though they constitute nearly one-fifth of the population.

Let me ask you, Sir, in all fairness whether this rule has really succeeded in shutting out any community from the colleges. Sir, agitation has been carried on in the newspapers and outside that a particular community—I do not want to mention it—is not being admitted into the colleges. But, I may show, in all fairness that that community whose number, which according to the population is so few, got 4,178 seats, i.e., more than 33-1/3 per cent. I do not want anybody to go away with any misunderstanding that this Government are trying to be hard on any community. Sir, even in regard to the present rules, much has been said about merit. But, let me tell you that people are selected on merit within these communities and it is not as if A, B or C is selected and so while proper consideration is being given to merit, something like social justice has also to be considered, in an unfortunate country like this where we are born in caste and die in caste. So, Sir, I would like to remove this misunderstanding that any community has suffered by the existing rules.

“ Coming to basic Education, my hon. Friend Mr. Suryanarayana Rao referred to it on a previous occasion and I had the opportunity to answer it ; but he was not present ; but now that he is present, I shall try to impress upon him why Government have taken up basic education as their policy for elementary education. The Government adopted it on its merits. They found in it the possibility of developing a country like ours. He asked what is basic education. Normally the Legislature is not the place in which we can give exhaustive details of basic education. But since a pertinent question has been asked whether the ex-Premier and now His Excellency the Governor of West Bengal, C. Rajagopalachariyar, was not opposed to it, I think it is a matter which I must make clear. All the world over people have accepted that education through activities is the best type of education. Education through books and notes is not the best type of education ; especially so as far as the younger children are concerned ; taking notes, studying books, obeying orders and sitting all the time is a crime against children ; children must be taught to be happy, to jump to frisk about and then through activities and experience they must be taught ; it is through activities and experience that they ought to learn ; that is the type of education that the child will appreciate and will make the child grow. That is what is called basic education. There is one

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difference between this and the type of education in other countries. There the activities are of many kinds with the result that the experience gained is not continuous. It was the contribution to education of Mahatma Gandhi, the father of our nation, that experience must be continuous so that it might contribute to the growth and building up of knowledge of crafts. Philosophically; if I may say so, it is absolutely sound. Besides, it has been the common experience of people that in order to grow in efficiency and to create a generation of men and women who will grow in efficiency and will be able to bring to bear in life courage, daring and strength in the daily discharge of duties, it is necessary that they must learn to do things with responsibility and with continuous effort. These are the ideals of basic education and these have been accepted by Government for very good and sound reasons and they considered that this is the best type of education that should be given to our children.

"Sir, then, it has been asked what is the difference between this and vocational education. If you teach them spinning or other things, it means only that you have a vocation added on to the existing curriculum. It is not basic education, and the only difference is that, with the existing curricula you introduce spinning or any other thing. That is not basic education. Education through mastering a continuous craft and other activities constitute basic education.

"Sir, regarding building grants, I know there has been a feeling in the country that grants have been stopped for the last so many years. I think it is from 1942. The Adviser Government issued a rule for more than one reason that building grants for educational institutions, should be stopped. That was qualified by a clause that for women's and girls' education, they might give grants. But even there they were not very generous. For boys' colleges, building grants were completely stopped. That rule continued up to this date. The reason which dictated the issue of those rules was that they wanted to further war efforts by not spending on these things and to conserve building materials for war effort and they did not want them to be diverted to other purposes. This rule had continued for the last five or six years. People felt that institutions have been starved and they could not expand as they would like. I acknowledge with gratitude the monetary help of many philanthropic gentlemen in this province with whose help many high schools and colleges have grown in this Province in spite of this ban. Large sums of money had been contributed by philanthropic gentlemen for the establishment of educational institutions. Still, it is necessary that we should consider whether we cannot meet their need even after five or six years. I believe a number of Members of this House are familiar with the statement made by the Hon. Minister for Finance in the Budget speech. The House is also aware of what I said in connexion with the introduction of a Bill which is now before the House. Sir, the Government is anxious and wants to do something in this direction. A suggestion has been made: 'if you are not able to make

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both ends meet, why not meet it out of loans?" Sir, it is a very legitimate idea. The matter has been discussed with the Auditor-General, Mr. Staig, who was here recently and the Government hope to come to a conclusion before long in the matter. People seem to think that the moment they raise a loan for the purpose, all our needs will be met. Let nobody be under that impression. There are many clever financiers in this House who very well know what the position of the country is and how our previous loans had been received; let no one imagine that unlimited amounts can be got by floating loans. Under the existing limitations with which Government have to work, Government will examine the possibility of taking up this suggestion.

"Now, Sir, about denominational schools. Views have been expressed on both sides and before I deal with it, I have to dispose of a matter raised by my hon. colleague Mrs. Hensman about technical terms and their uniform introduction throughout this land.

"People have feared where it would lead us if we adopt technical terms for each regional language and fears have also been expressed that we would lose the advantage of a common language. Sir, I would like to set at rest these things. At the recent Educational Conference summoned by the Education Minister of the Government of India, this matter came up for discussion and it was decided that the International Terminology in English to express these technical terms might be adopted. The terms are by no means English because most of them are derived from Latin, French or German. We need not feel any compunction or pain of heart if we straightway take them and adopt them for use in our language. That is the policy of the Government of India and that is the policy of this Government and there need be no fear about these terms any more.

"Sir, I would like to refer to Adult Education. It is unfortunately true that till now the Government of Madras had not paid sufficient attention to Adult Education. If a country is to have the full effects of the money that we are spending on elementary education—ours is by no means small being about six crores—we must have a type of further education. We cannot be satisfied with this 16 per cent literacy in our Province. It is absolutely necessary that the Government, with the co-operation of all of you, will start a scheme for further education. We are trying to use our day school teachers for adult education. They have no knowledge of how to teach adults, being conversant with teaching children only. They could not understand their psychology and it was difficult to deal with them. The result was most of the night schools intended for adult education in which day school teachers taught, disappear. Till to-day our literacy campaigns have been a failure. The Government have taken up the matter of training teachers for adult education right earnestly. The hon. Members will have seen that in the Part II Budget, provision is made for adult education. Even in the recent Conference in Delhi, the Minister for Education made a fervent appeal that adult education should be attended to and we in turn have made a fervent appeal to the Central Government for

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funds. A scheme for adult-education has been made. God willing, we hope the new schemes—they are no more under consideration—will be put into practice after 1st April. We have provided not only for adult literacy schools but also for schools which will train staff for these adult literacy schools. Besides these, the Government have under contemplation the establishment of rural colleges by which boys and girls who have not had the fortune of studying in colleges and schools will in their own language be able to go through the course which will give them knowledge equal to the under-graduate standard. The syllabuses are being framed to send men as well as women so that the ordinary adult may progress in knowledge and make himself fit for other superior avocations in future. The Government have under contemplation a training camp for social service workers. They are not unaware of the need for reorganizing the youths in this country and they also have certain schemes for training people in citizenship and for youth workers. They have a scheme of Youth Education by means of projectors and films. The Government are not unaware of the many problems they have to face with adult education and with the meagre finances at their disposal they have taken it up and, God willing, they will be able to put it into force in the beginning of the next financial year.

“ Sir, I come now to the point which was raised by my hon. Friend Mr. Farookhi. He said he was not asking for any communal advantage when he pleaded for encouragement of Muslim education. I am one with him in that. I feel that the best way to carry the Muslim masses and the Muslim community with us is by means of education. I believe in giving them good education, I believe that will make them feel that they are brother Indians alongside the other people. I do not want to give them that type of education which will make them feel, ‘I am a Muslim to-day, to-morrow and ever after.’ One member of the Muslim League Party told me one day, ‘We Muslims anywhere in the world are brothers.’ He could not say, he was a brother of the Hindu, his next-door neighbour and this at the time when stabbings and killings were going on throughout the country. That is the result of the sort of education we have given them till now in separate schools. Let me make it clear. Let us educate our Muslims. We are not for denying them education. We want to educate them because, by education all differences will go. But what I ask is, do not ask for separate schools. For God’s sake, let us not have denominational schools.

“ My Friend, Mr. Farookhi, referred to the Government Muslim Women’s College. And he also said in the course of his speech that there are more non-Muslims than Muslims there. And still he asked why should that college not be continued. He was in fact furnishing me with the reason for abolishing that college as a Muslim college.”

ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI SAHIB BAHADUR :—“ Are there more Christians in the Christian College? Are there not Christians in the Pachaiyappa’s College? ”

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* THE HON. SRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIYAR :—
“ They are only so in name. From the very beginning they were not started for any particular community alone. This Muslim Women's College was started for Muslim women. The other colleges he refers to are aided colleges, colleges run by private agencies, but this one is a Government College run out of public funds. Government declared that they would start a college for Muslim girls, if a certain percentage of pupils belonging to the Muslim community are forthcoming. It now happens that to-day the majority of girls are non-Muslims. The very argument which we should use to abolish that college, the hon. Member advances as a reason for continuing that college.”

ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI SAHIB BAHADUR :—“ Does Pachaiyappa's College admit Muslim students? ”

THE HON. SRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIYAR :—
“ It is not a Government college; it is a private aided institution. The communal Government Order is observed only in Government colleges.”

ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI SAHIB BAHADUR :—“ Stop their grant? ”

* THE HON. SRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIYAR :—
“ Mr. Farookhi Sahib wants to abolish grants for certain institutions. Government have to go on certain principles. And so we can't accept his suggestion. It is not that we are giving no scope for women's education by abolishing this Muslim Women's College. Government have seen to it that another college comes in its place. There will be a college there, which I hope will be run with greater enthusiasm, which private effort can put in. A college for girls will be there; only the nomenclature will be changed. It may not be a Government college. It will be an aided college. So, the general public do not suffer. We will see to it, that the general public do not suffer. Those buildings and grounds will come back from Mr. V. L. Ethiraj if he does not wish to run a woman's college.

“ One other matter Mr. Farookhi referred to. It was with regard to giving extension of service to certain officers. It is an individual matter; and I do not think I should reply to that consistent with the dignity of the debate. He said, a Brahman had been given extension of service, while a Muslim was not given. That is absolutely—I will not say lie—a terminological”

THE HON. DR. P. SUBBARAYAN :—“ Terminological inexactitude.” (Laughter.)

* THE HON. SRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIYAR :—
“ Yes, terminological inexactitude. It is absolutely wrong. I wish responsible members of the Opposition will check up facts before they indulge in such terminological inexactitudes. I may tell the hon. Member no Muslim Deputy Director of Public Instruction ever applied for extension of service; no Christian officer applied for

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any extension of service; nor were they refused. He wanted Government to put all the facts before the House; and so I have to say all these. Then again he was wrong when he said that a Non-Brahmin Hindu of Coimbatore was given extension, while others were not given. There is one fact I should say here. I must acknowledge with gratitude the work done by certain officers. And so considering their character and record of work for the purpose of Government work we had to give some of them extension of service. All such extensions were done on merit, merit over which our friends often wax eloquent."

MR. PRESIDENT :—" You have not told him how he was wrong."

THE HON. SRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIYAR :—" He was wrong in all the three statements. Wherever there were men who did good work and public interest demanded that extension of service should be given to them, only in such cases, extension of service was given."

ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI SAHIB BAHADUR :—" I have got 25 per cent marks."

THE HON. SRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIYAR :—" That is how civilian officers pass their examination. If they are asked what a 'dog' means, and if they say 'poonai' they get 25 per cent of the marks; because the dog has four legs and the cat has four legs. (Laughter.)

" Sir, I do not think I should take up the time of the House any further. Government have been trying to do their best in all departments including the Education Department. I have neither the time nor the inclination to mention all the work done so far under Education. I hope I will get another opportunity to do that, if not here, in the other House."

* THE HON. SRI K. MADHAVA MENON :—" Mr. President, Sir, the new Leader of the Opposition has rather fed us so heavily; his idea seems to be, that we may not be able to talk much. (Laughter.) (A Voice : ' Not fed up, I suppose '.) I am not at all fed up with him. I must congratulate him on the very good maiden speech he made after he became the Leader of the Opposition, which I am sorry to say was characterized more with passion and rhetoric than with facts. In his enthusiasm of his new office he has been trying to excite himself unnecessarily, unusual to his practice."

MR. PRESIDENT :—" As a lawyer."

THE HON. SRI K. MADHAVA MENON :—" Yes, unusual to his practice as a lawyer. Being not sure of facts he has been crying only for effect. He is guilty of the charge of *suppressio veri* and slightly of *suggestio falsi*. (Laughter.) When he mentioned that the Hon. Finance Minister in his speech has said that not one acre of land has increased, he read one line from page 7 without referring to the line before or after." (Laughter.)

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MR. PRESIDENT :—“ Don't you know that it is what lawyers sometimes do? ” (Laughter.)

THE HON. SRI K. MADHAVA MENON :—“ That is why I said that he is guilty of *suppressio veri*. ”

MR. PRESIDENT :—“ Both are speaking from experience. ” (Laughter.)

* THE HON. SRI K. MADHAVA MENON :—“ The passage reads thus :

‘ Unfortunately, the seasonal conditions in 1947 have been very unsatisfactory. The standing crops in most parts of the Presidency (except the Circars) were adversely affected by the failure of the north-east monsoon. In the Circars, the crops suffered damage from cyclones and excessive rain. ’

These sentences Dr. John did not read. (Laughter.) He read only the following sentence :

‘ The total area cultivated in the Province from April to November 1947, was below normal and less than the corresponding figure for the previous year. ’

Now to clear off the misconception of my friend, I may tell him, the total area under food crop has increased much. I want to assure the Leader of the Opposition that we have increased one lakh of additional acres under food production. The total area has been increased from 26.4 to 27.63 million acres. May I tell him that the increase of 1.2 millions of land has been due to Grow More Food Campaign. The acreage of paddy has risen from 10.20 to 10.99 million acres. I say all this to disabuse my friend of his wrong opinion. Now what Dr. John read refers to non-cultivation of land due to failure of north-east monsoon. This is what I called slightly *suggestio falsi*. (Laughter.)

“ I have only to answer one more point, and that is the point raised by Mr. Suryanarayana Rao. He cited an example of Government not caring for the recommendation of the Retrenchment and Reorganization Committee, for which a better reply has been given by the Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University, whose speech I read in the newspaper, as I was not here on that day. He said that committee recommended that State Trading schemes in charge of Agricultural Department may be taken away, but still it is not done. May I tell the hon. Member that much before the Retrenchment and Reorganization Committee made that recommendation Government themselves were insisting that these functions should be taken away from the Agricultural Department and given over to some others. But for various reasons other departments could not take it up. I know the demonstrators are acting as traders. The only reason why they continue to do so is, the Co-operative department is not in a position to take it up. I have already decontrolled forty per cent of the manures, and we hope to decontrol the other portion as soon as we get sufficient stock. It is not because of disregard for the recommendation of the Retrenchment and Reorganization Committee that nothing has been done so

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far. They suggested that this function could be given to the Co-operative department, but that department is not willing to do it under certain conditions.

"Some other members complained about want of proper supply of manures and agricultural implements. I have already answered that point several times in the past on the floor of the House. Our supply is two lakhs of tons and our demand is fifteen lakhs of tons of manures. The existing stock we are distributing as equitably as possible. With regard to the implements we have to get the iron and steel quota from the Government of India, and we are distributing the supply we get as equitably as possible. I have nothing more to say, Sir."

* THE HON. DR. T. S. S. RAJAN :—Mr. President, Sir, there is one subject with which I would like to deal in this debate. Almost every hon. Member of this House as well as members of the other House have felt strongly on the question of decontrol. That seems to be the one obsession of the public, and of the Government also in a way. Therefore I think it is better, I should make a statement with regard to it here. It is necessary to do so for many reasons. One reason is the public is strongly feeling on it, and so no Government can close its eyes to it and ignore it. Most of all, we who claim to represent public opinion in the Legislature, take the public opinion along with us in all we do, and so it becomes necessary for me to deal with the question that is engaging the public mind.

"The question of control, I must remind the House, came in at a time when food control was absolutely necessary and was forced on the country by many considerations, particularly of providing the wherewithal for our fighting forces in the various theatres of war. Rightly the Government of the day managed to pool their resources; they never stinted man-power or money in securing food, which was very vital not only for the well-being of the people but also for the prosecution of the war, which had luckily ended in securing independence for us. When I make that statement, I am asked 'now that war having disappeared and the country having come to a peaceful state, is it not necessary (a right question to ask) that the Government should give up a war-time measure? Take away all controls on food.' I support that statement without hesitation. One hon. Member said humorously that he would find some other job for me when the food portfolio completely disappeared. It is very kind of him to have made the offer and I thank him for it. But I am not sure whether I would avail myself of the offer. Abolition of food control and Food Department is very welcome so far as I am concerned. Food Department is the one department which is causing me the greatest headache, sleepless nights and anxious days. Complete decontrol of food and abolition of the Food Department will result in a saving of as much as one crore of rupees. A good portion of the Revenue Board office and a good portion of the Secretariat, namely, the Food Department can be abolished. The Food Department was formed in a hurry with the available staff, as the Government could not wait till qualified people were available.

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Anybody and everybody who applied was offered a job. People got in simply because they found somebody to recommend. Qualification was perhaps the last consideration. I may tell you that the department possesses a lot of unqualified people. Through that department we have worked all these years and we can claim a certain degree of success. While we hold ourselves responsible for the food position in the province, we should think and consider the consequences that will follow decontrol. If we provide sufficient safeguards against the adverse consequences, then we will be justified in adopting the policy of decontrol. On the fundamentals of decontrol, I—by 'I' I do not mean myself personally, but the Government of Madras in which I hold the portfolio of food—am one with public opinion. Therefore I welcome the criticism against the control policy of the Government. I must also ask the hon. Members to bear in mind what decontrol means. We have employed an enormous number of men and women in this big food organization. It extends from one end of the province to the other including the remotest and the tiniest village. It is a nation-wide organization comprising practically every field of human activity in which men and women have been put in as officers, traders, millers, distributors, ration shop-keepers and so on.

"Another point I would like to bring to the notice of the House is that the food control as administered by the Government of Madras has won the admiration of not only the rest of India but also other countries like America and England. Our system of organization, procurement and rationing has been praised by impartial visitors who visited this province to see the working of food control. We have got every reason to be proud of what we have done so far. Though there may be small lapses here and there, on the whole we have done well. Should we not carry out our future commitments in a manner that will not damage the reputation that we have earned?

"Has the time come to remove the control? Yes, it has come and we have taken up the question. For the first time, the Government of India also are supporting us. They have said that the policy of food administration in the whole of India should be one of decontrol. They came to this decision on the recommendations of the Foodgrains Policy Committee, a non-official body which sat in Delhi a number of months and spent a good deal of time and labour in examining the question. The Dominion Cabinet were not unanimous in the decision but as a Cabinet they have accepted the decision and communicated it to us. I do not mean to suggest that, because the Government of India have said so, we should slavishly follow them. On every occasion our opinion was called for, and we have expressed it in a clear and unequivocal manner. We have insisted on communicating our ideas to the Government of India as often as is necessary. This Government have been summoned for consultation on food policy a number of times and the officers of the Food Department have run up to Delhi not once, not twice but as many as half a dozen times. After bringing to bear our opinion on the subject, we have accepted the policy of

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decontrol. A careful Government that they are, the Government of India have asked us to lift control gradually and in such a manner as not to create great commotion among the people, a very right thing to do. For some years past, the Government held themselves responsible for distributing food to every man and woman in the province. Now we want to abolish the whole scheme and tell every one: 'The Government are not going to continue the rationing of food any longer. Hereafter it is your look out to find the necessary food.' In doing so, we have to avoid consequences of grave nature. To that extent we stand committed. We have followed the instructions of the Government of India and begun a policy of decontrol in this province."

DR. V. K. JOHN :—" May I ask whether the Government of India have made the same contribution "

* THE HON. DR. T. S. S. RAJAN :—" I will deal with that point a little later. If the hon. Member insists, I have got to explain. I crave his indulgence. First of all I want to give a clear picture of the food control as it exists and what we propose to do.

" To-day we have started decontrol. Statutory rationing or the compulsory food allotment to every citizen has been reduced from all over the province to important towns where many means are not available to the citizen to procure what he wants unless it is distributed by somebody. For instance, Madras City does not produce food. But there are 11 lakhs of people who have got to be fed. To whom are we to hand over this problem? Can we leave it to the merchants straightaway or should we retain control till such time as normal trade conditions revive? That is our anxiety. Once you decontrol, all ration shops and depots will be closed. The man who has been getting ration all these years will be faced with the situation as to wherefrom he is to purchase foodgrains for his next meal."

SRI ADUSUMILLI GOPALAKRISHNAYYA :—" What was he doing before rationing? "

* THE HON. DR. T. S. S. RAJAN :—" Before rationing, we never thought about the question. Having introduced rationing, having spoonfed the people all these years, we have got to restore normal conditions before we abolish it. I suppose the hon. Member agrees with me. One fine morning, can I say: 'All ration shops are closed; take to normal conditions.' That is not the duty of any Government. Therefore we have got to restore normal trade channels before we abolish rationing. Is there the normal trade channel now? No, it is not, because we have not allowed it to function. Suppose there is no restriction on trade and no price control. If a man has got a bag of surplus rice, the most needy man will purchase it. But the price will be so high that a poor man cannot afford to pay. That is one consideration which we have got to bear in mind before we take our hands off. We are dealing with a huge population. That is why we say we will not remove controls immediately. What we have done is first to deration those districts where food is available and thus develop normal trade channels.

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In places where there is no production and where people live in large numbers, we have to continue rationing, gradually reduce our commitments and allow trade channels to develop. Everyone of you know as well as I do that to-day in the City of Madras people do not live on the 8 oz. of rice that we give, and all of them buy rice which is sold in the streets. This point was referred to by a number of hon. Members in this House. I am not unaware of it.

"I have not taken action to close that avenue of food supply by prosecuting those people immediately or then and there. I know that there are some token prosecutions here and there just to show that we have a check on it. But a number of people from the Chingleput area simply pour any quantity of rice in small bags either through trains or by bus or by other means and that has, to a large extent, relieved the food scarcity of a part of the City population. We are aware, Sir, that is one of the effects of the decontrol policy we are following."

3.45
p.m.

DR. V. K. JOHN :—"Do you encourage smuggling?"

* THE HON. DR. T. S. S. RAJAN :—"I am not for the moment referring to the criminality of the offence at all. The idea of smuggling or blackmarketing is not present in my mind at all. At the moment I am only thinking of what is the effect of our policy of decontrol. People have found that even by paying a little more price, they are able to get much better rice than I am able to give them in our ration shops.

"The next fact that I have got to tell you is, that in all these districts where derationing has taken place, I am getting regular weekly reports from the Collectors of the districts concerned, and I am thus keeping a close watch over the food position in those districts. Therefore I am in a position to state that the first effect of decontrol has not been altogether so disastrous or so frightful as some people imagined that it would be. The reports of the Collectors show that there are no cases of starvation even in the deficit districts where we have decontrolled and derationed. We are not at all worried about the surplus districts, because there can be no case of starvation there. It is only in respect of deficit districts where deration has taken place that we were anxious about, and the reports of Collectors from those districts, I am glad to say, that there has been no case of death due to starvation."

DR. V. K. JOHN :—"What about the future? Will there be no deaths at all?"

* THE HON. DR. T. S. S. RAJAN :—"I am not a prophet, Sir, but what I am saying is what is happening there now and what is contained in the Collectors' reports. Whether people will have to face starvation and death in the future is a different matter, which I shall deal with shortly. But what I am now saying is that the Collectors' reports show that foodgrains are flowing more freely than before and that the poor man, for whom the Government are anxious about, is able to get his full requirements of food and that is a matter about which we can all feel satisfied. It may be that

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in some districts the prices are a little bit high, in some other districts the prices are more or less the same and in some others the prices have come down. Now the question is, how are we going to deal with all the municipal towns and big cities in all those deficit districts where statutory rationing is still in operation? 'These are about 84 in number.'

SRI A. GOPALAKRISHNAYYA :—“ What about municipalities in surplus districts? ”

*** THE HON. DR. T. S. S. RAJAN :—**“ As I have said already, I am not worried about surplus districts at all or about the municipal towns in those districts. Those areas can take care of themselves. We have removed them altogether from our plan of gradual decontrol. My anxiety is only about districts where there is not enough foodgrains for distribution to the people. In all surplus districts procurement will go on as usual and the producers will be allowed to keep a fair margin of their surplus stocks, for their food and other requirements and the foodgrains so procured will be added on to the Government stock. We have decided to take certain important steps in this direction and we have worked out a definite programme of decontrol and we are going about it gradually.

“ Sir, here I wish to state one or two things. First of all we must remember that this country of ours does not produce enough quantity of foodgrains for all our people. That is a fact which must be known to everybody. But some people get more and some get less, while some others do not get anything at all. Somehow or other there is a certain amount of distribution of food among the people, in spite of the fact that our country is not self-sufficient in the production of food. So we have to import foodgrains from Burma and other countries outside. Those channels are now completely closed for us. Therefore ours is a deficit Province.

“ The second point is this. If we are a deficit province, what is it that we are going to do to meet the deficit? There is also another factor which has aggravated the situation and that is that the last monsoon has been a failure and four districts have been completely devoid of any production and two other districts have produced only a very small quantity. That is why our deficit has become greater. Allowing for all these things, and taking into account our future crops that might come up till the end of the official year, we have worked out that our deficit this year will come to about 18 lakhs of tons. Our original estimate of deficit was about 21 lakhs of tons, but the latest figure has come down to about 18 lakhs of tons. We have got to find out ways and means of meeting this deficiency of 18 lakhs of tons. This year the Government of India have doubled their original allotment and have promised to give us 4 lakhs of tons. Hitherto they have been so generous as to meet all our deficits, but this year they are not able to give more than 4 lakhs of tons. Therefore, we have still to find 14 lakhs somewhere. If we do not get sufficient rains in another two or three months, perhaps the situation will get worse.”

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DR. V. K. JOHN :—“ Would not the Government of India increase their allotment? ”

* THE HON. DR. T. S. S. RAJAN :—“ There is no question of increasing their allotments, Sir, because they are not providing for more than they require and they have got to distribute what they have got. That is the difficulty with the Government of India. With the best will in the world, they were giving us what they could so far. It is not possible for them to give all that we want. At present rationing has been completely abolished in the surplus districts of East Godavari, West Godavari, Kistna, Guntur, Nellore and Tanjore. Rural rationing has been abolished in all the deficit districts except Malabar and Nilgiris. Statutory rationing is in force in the deficit districts including South Arcot and Trichinopoly, but from to-morrow onwards Trichinopoly will be derationed. But some of the towns in these districts have been derationed, viz., Tiruvannamalai and Wallajapet in the North Arcot district, Chidambaram in South Arcot district, Srirangam town in Trichinopoly district, Bodinayakanur, Periyakulam and Palni towns in the Madura district, Chittoor Municipality in the Chittoor district and Cuddapah and Proddatur towns in Cuddapah district. It has been proposed to do away with statutory rationing in Karur and certain other towns from the 14th of this month.”

DR. V. K. JOHN :—“ What about Pudukkottai? ”

THE HON. DR. T. S. S. RAJAN :—“ It is part of the Trichinopoly district, Sir.

“ So, Sir, decontrol, on the whole, has not led to any deterioration in the situation. In all the districts and places where decontrol and deration have been introduced, the food position has been fairly satisfactory and prices are steadily going down. Steps are also being taken to bring down prices still further by various methods. We are receiving every day countless petitions from people in the statutory rationing areas, and several resolutions from municipal councils and local bodies where rationing is still in operation, urging us that decontrol must be immediately brought into force in those areas.

“ Sir, taking into account the foodgrains received from the Government of India till now, our stock position on the 28th February 1948 is as follows :—

						TONS.
Rice	...	...	...	...	...	262,492
Wheat	...	...	...	...	...	4,922
Maida	...	...	...	...	...	497
Other grains	...	...	...	...	...	14,636
Maize	...	...	...	...	...	36,685
Total						319,232

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"Therefore including the stocks that have been procured and those that have been received from the Government of India, we have got in our reserve about 3 lakhs of tons of foodgrains. With our programme of procurement this year and the promised help from the Government of India, we hope to add another 6 lakhs of tons to this and with this we propose to carry on with our programme of gradual decontrol. I hope and trust that by our decontrol policy in municipal towns, we may be able to conserve our present reserve by stopping further drain on it.

"Sir, till now I was simply explaining to you how we are trying to build up a reserve and at the same time gradually extending our policy of derationing. Now I should ask the people to hold their belt for a little while so that we may get along until the next harvest and see how our programme of procurement works. That is my anxiety. I could have simply said, as people have asked me, "Well go on, I have decontrolled"; I could have become very popular thereby and I could have felt myself satisfied that I have satisfied the public. But then what would be the result? I would have allowed the poor people to die in the streets. If I had done that, I should have become criminally responsible for the deaths of ever-so-many poor people. What we therefore propose to do as a precautionary measure, even after decontrol is completed is to find out the total amount of production in the province first and then to procure the entire surplus stocks from the surplus districts and then distribute to the deficit districts as far as it is possible with our existing stock. That is our programme. The total production of rice and millets will be about 5,934,000 tons, provided there is fairly moderate rain and no draught anywhere. But still allowing a small margin for famine conditions, we will be able to produce about 59 lakhs of tons. The total number of adult population in this Province is 42,191,800. Therefore if we divide the total quantity of food that is available among our population, we will get about 86 lb. or 13.8 oz. per adult per day. That is to say, if there is full production and if we could get the proper quantity of procurement and if we distribute them fairly, we will be able to give nearly 13 oz. per adult per day."

DR. V. K. JOHN :—"That is very optimistic."

THE HON. DR. T. S. S. RAJAN :—"Sir, those are my figures and they tell us so. If I carry on at the rate of 8 oz. for non-producers for the whole year or for the partial producers for six months of this year, I would require 18 lakhs of tons. If I have that quantity there will be no famine. But if I could cut the consumption for the whole population by reducing the ration to 6 oz., I would still be able to manage avoiding starvation altogether. But friends might ask, is 6 oz. ration sufficient for a man? I accept that it is not sufficient, but my argument is that it is better than starvation. As a medical man, it is wrong on my part to give 6 oz. over any length of time. But you must know that I could give only what I have got at my disposal.

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" I have to distribute it equally and equitably to all people and thus avoid starvation. That is my proposal. I am now gathering all the food, not only from the Government of India, but from everywhere and pooling it up so that I might save it for meeting any crisis that may be expected in next May or June, or whenever it might happen. That is bound to come and there is no doubt about it. The crops in our province have failed and therefore there is a deficit. And therefore, with what I get I must be able to tide over this crisis."

SRI S. B. ADITYAN:—" Will rationing be introduced again? "

THE HON. DR. T. S. S. RAJAN:—" The hon. Member has not listened to me. What I mean to say is that I am securing all these grains, not because I want to introduce control and rationing. If I were to do so this will never be enough. But I am simply reducing my commitments so that I might save my resources and release the reserves at a time of crisis, so that I might distribute something to all the districts wherever there is famine. That is the idea."

DR. V. K. JOHN:—" Planning regulated starvation! "

THE HON. DR. T. S. S. RAJAN:—" I am perfectly willing to agree, Sir, because it is a better thing than starvation and death. Is it wrong to plan or calculate? That is perhaps the most charitable thing any administrator can do. If there is any other method which my hon. Friend could give me I will accept it. That is why, Sir, I have taken all the trouble to calculate the number of adults and the amount of food available by way of imports and otherwise. With regard to imports, Sir, I have made tremendous efforts, not only with the Government of India but also with others and I have procured the maximum amount that is possible."

SRI MANATHUNAINATHA DESIGAR:—" On a point of information, Sir. After decontrol how will it be possible to distribute the 6.5 oz. ? "

THE HON. DR. T. S. S. RAJAN:—" I will come to that, Sir. The producers will never care for these controls. It is only those who do not produce and with whom the producers are not willing to share the produce that will come to me and then, Sir, I propose to locate relief shops. They will still have the cards which I have distributed to them. They will present the cards in the shops and they will get whatever grains I am able to give them for a controlled price. Therefore, Sir, I think that this must be the barest proposition that could be made under the circumstances. (Interruption.) It is not a question of the satisfaction of the hon. Member, Sir. I have to satisfy myself first. He has had a full meal and so he is quite happy. To-day he has shared his food with me, no doubt. But I still feel hungry along with so many of our countrymen."

" These are the figures which I have worked at in order to satisfy my own conscience to see that there is something in the

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country which I could give and save our people from death due to starvation. I may tell you, Sir, what it is that we propose to do in the event of decontrol. I may just name the preparations we are making in the face of our decontrol policy. (1) Procurement of surplus grains in the surplus districts and allotment to deficit districts. (2) Get the maximum quota of foodgrains allotted by the Government and distribute them to the deficit districts according to their needs. (3) Opening of relief shops in the deficit districts where rationing has been given up and distribute the foodgrains the quantity of the ration being a minimum of at least 6 oz. (4) Increasing the number of procurement and distributing agents so that procurement may be speeded up and distribution may be satisfactory.

" These are the methods which we are adopting to meet the threatening situation.

" With regard to the Grow More Food Campaign, it has been mentioned by a number of hon. Members that that is the only solution for meeting the food problem. I entirely agree with them in saying that there will be more food. But many have criticized that this Grow More Food Campaign has thoroughly failed and it has not served the purpose. I have placed before hon. Members on the table of the House, on behalf of my colleague, Mr. Madhava Menon, facts relating to the number of wells which we have dug in the province. (Interruption.) I only want the hon. the Leader of the Opposition to be a bit patient, Sir, so that he might listen carefully. We have given in the statement information regarding the money distributed, the number of wells dug, the acreage that has been brought under cultivation, etc. From that you will see, Sir, that from nothing onwards we are working up slowly. The production of more than 25,000 tons of foodgrains is the result that is expected this year. We are just working at the scheme. We are not even half way through our scheme. The scheme is spread over five years. I am just giving an interim report, Sir, as to what has been done from which you can easily see the possibilities of further development of the Grow More Food Campaign.

" I would like to bring to the notice of the House, Sir, the fact that the distribution of manure is the sole and independent factor in the increased food production. I have laid a statement on the table of the House so that the hon. Members might know it. The statement shows how much money is spent on manure and how it is distributed and how much we have distributed. Every ton of manure is calculated in terms of so much grain produced. So, according to arithmetic every ton of manure distributed is so much addition to our food production. If that is followed, then we will find that the Madras Government has taken up the matter of the manure problem with the Government of India and we have fought bitterly. We have been successful to the extent that the Government of India have consented to allow the groundnut kernel to be retained in the Province so that it might be milled and we could secure out of the groundnut kernel at least 2½ lakhs tons

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of manure which is our minimum requirement for agricultural purposes. Of course they have stipulated certain conditions because we grow more groundnuts than we require and the Government of India have asked us to supply them a certain quantity of groundnut for their own requirements—either whole or nuts. We are more interested only in keeping the manure and the kernels for manural purposes especially in view of the Grow More Food Campaign. Therefore, Sir, the Government of India have found it necessary to accommodate us.

“Next, I shall come to one other point, Sir, and I have done. The question of substitute and accessory foods has come to our notice and we have been thinking very much about that. In terms of famine value the accessory foods assume importance. Sir, we do produce a good quantity of groundnut and groundnut as a food you may take it from me, is a most nutritious food. It contains a large percentage of protein and oil and even by itself it is a very valuable food. Unfortunately this year groundnut crop also has shared the famine conditions as others. The turnover of the groundnut crop is far below our usual minimum. But we have got to expect that. In the way of food we have got groundnut which is plenty. Then the question is: what else have we got as alternative foodstuffs? Many have been suggested. The Government of India ask us to try and see whether we cannot introduce sweet potato as a famine food as it could be easily cultivated in three months' time in the fields and the produce could be handed over to the people. Our point is that we have no water even to produce these sweet potatoes. But the Government of India have come forward with an offer of dried sweet potatoes from the Central Provinces to our relief and they have asked us as to how much of it we would take and at what rate. I am now in correspondence with the Government of India to acquire as much of the accessory foodstuffs as they could give us. They have given us plenty of maize and they have promised something more. I am also trying to get all possible alternative foodstuffs which the Government of India could give us. I am also negotiating for the supply of oats that is available in the Central Provinces and other Provinces. All these things are famine foods which can be used easily, only of course, when people do not get paddy or rice. A hungry man cannot choose and he has to take what we can supply him.

“Then we come to the question, Sir, which is often ignored. of the quantity of sugar we have in the Province. That is not much. But this jaggery which is the poor man's sugar is made available as much as possible to all poor people in the villages. The price of jaggery is much less than that of sugar with which you could not compare it. It is beyond comparison. The poor man thrives better with jaggery and I can say this of jaggery, namely, that it contains a better food value than sugar does. That being so, having jaggery at our very doors we should make it available perhaps to as many as possible. When it becomes necessary.

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jaggery should be made available to the poor people and, if necessary, at controlled rates. From a caloric point of view of foodstuffs, I may tell you, Sir, that sugar and jaggery contain the maximum caloric value which when given as a food in a famine area would be very invaluable. Therefore we also propose to do that. So, we have groundnut and sugar. We have got sweet potatoes.

"As regards potatoes, Sir, we have only a very small quantity up in the hills at higher altitudes. Unfortunately the production of potatoes is very small. In no sense could we call it a poor man's food. It never used to be a poor man's food and if you make it available, as you did last year, the result will be that it will only touch the fringe of the problem. How can the poor man pay 12 annas or 11 annas per viss of potatoes. The hungry and suffering men in the villages cannot afford it. Therefore from the point of view of the poor man it does not become an alternative foodstuff.

"Therefore, Sir, I must say that I am taking action on these lines and when occasion may arise, I have asked the food authorities to make these foodstuffs available in turn as and when they are available. This, Sir, is the picture which I have got to give to you and which I hope you will see, is reasonable with regard to the facts and figures supplied as to the amount of foodstuffs available. In the face of the starvation and famine threatening, I would like to know whether a better solution for the situation can be found, apart from asking as to what foodgrains we have got and all that. We have got the maximum capacity of help that could be secured from the Government of India and we have got to maintain our household in the best way that is possible. This food situation will be facing the Minister year after year I know, till perhaps such time when we become self-sufficient in the matter of food or when we produce enough for all our people. Till then this problem will always be there. We have to remember two things as people of a free country. One is to produce to be self-sufficient in the matter of food or we must have sufficient resources to buy it in any market where it is available. If these two conditions do not exist this will be a source of trouble always.

"This, Sir, is the programme which I have chalked out and which with your permission I want to introduce in the country and decontrol at the same time. Perhaps by the end of this harvest I would have stocked sufficient quantities of famine food as would be necessary, before we get rid of controls towards which we are striving. I request those friends who are in the surplus districts and are advocating decontrol to come forward and help us without putting impossible demands on the Government for this, that and everything, to understand the situation and help us with all possible foodgrains that they have in their possession, and surrendering them willingly for relieving the suffering of the poor in the country. I know and remember with gratitude, Sir, the response from our producers to our appeal last year for grains. They saved the Government of Madras from an ugly situation

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when the Government of India were not able to meet our demands. They were able to give us to the extent of nearly 5½ lakhs of tons to save us from the famine situation last year. I do hope, Sir, that the same generosity which permitted them to surrender all their grains will prevail now also. They have repeatedly told me that they had depleted all their resources for the last two years. Quite true, Sir, and to that extent they have saved the self-respect of the Government of Madras. We were appealing to the Government of India for rice and they could not supply, and yet we were made to feel that we could manage and we tided over the situation and it is with pride that we could say to-day, that even when the Government of India could not help us, our people helped us. I hope, Sir, the same amount of humanitarian impulses, which I feel is still ingrained in an Indian, will save us from this pasa."

* THE HON. DR. P. SUBBARAYAN :—" Mr. President, Sir, there was so little said about the departments in my charge that I think my task has been made fairly easy. Mr. Govindacharyulu I would begin with first, because I believe he referred to the Rashtra Sevaka Sangh, arrests and asked what the Government had done with regard to this matter. The Government are reviewing the position of most of these Rashtra Sevaka Sangh prisoners, and I trust it will be possible to release most of them. I do believe, as Dr. John does, in the fundamental principle that persons should be sent to prison only after they have been tried in a Court of Law. My hon. friend Mr. Farookhi also referred to the same matter. That is the reason why the cases of all these people who have been arrested—both the Rashtra Sevaka Sangh and the Muslim League guards—are being examined. Their cases are being carefully gone into, and I trust it will be possible for the Government to release most of them. It is not the intention of the Government to keep anybody under the special provisions of the law a moment longer than what they feel necessary. A great tragedy happened without almost anybody thinking of it, and there is no doubt whatever, that there are more hands behind this tragedy than the hand that did the final deed. When they have lost perhaps not merely the tallest figure in this country, but the tallest figure in the whole world, a man who came in the same line as the Prophet who died on the Cross two thousand years ago, to teach the same lesson that was taught and which was not taken to heart by people who call themselves Christians to-day, it is the bounden duty of a Government, which really owes its existence to this one person, to try and find out and unearth the conspiracy that brought about this terrible tragedy. Therefore, Sir, if the Government hesitate to release some of the people who are under detention to-day, you can understand that it is not because they want to keep these people behind bars but because they want to make sure that none of these hands were sullied by this great and terrible tragedy.

" Mr. Farookhi referred to the question of recruitment both to the Home Guards and the Special Police Force, which have recently been constituted. My answer is that Government as a

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Government do not want to exclude any particular community from the force they recruit. As I said in the House when the Home Guards Bill was passed, it is our intention to take in all communities without any distinction of race or creed in these Home Guards subject to one condition, and that is, there are some districts, where there is a great deal of suspicion—which I know may be wrong—the people of which, with the Nizam's Dominions nearby, feel, rather frightened, if I may say so, and any element which might contribute towards disturbance of order might for the present be prevented from being recruited to these Guards. As a Government who represent the people, we have got to take note of this position. Alarmist it may be, but at the same time people are inclined to view with suspicion and therefore some amount of caution has got to be exercised in such recruitment. I say without fear of contradiction that there will be no exclusion of any community either from the Special Police or Home Guards. (Abdul Latif Farookhi Sahib Bahadur: 'Thank you, Sir.')

" My hon. Friend Mr. Uppi Sahib referred to an incident of which I am well aware. It happened at Pukkattur only a week ago. I know as well as my hon. Friend does the dangerous situation that might arise because of elements that are present. But fortunately the district officers have been careful, and are trying to do their best to see that no untoward incidents happen because of this. I am glad, Sir, Mr. Uppi Sahib, conceded that we must deal with illegal gambling in the best way we can. The arrests that were made were due to this gambling that was going on at this particular place.

" Mr. Bhima Rao, and the hon. Member representing Anantapur, I believe, were rather annoyed at my use of the word 'panic'. I may say, Sir, that I do not want to cast any aspersion by any kind of speech. What I said was that I would request the people not to get panicky whatever may be the conditions which may occur because of the border incidents, which unfortunately are becoming more frequent than the Government anticipated. Both the Government of India and the Provincial Government have got the situation well in hand and have taken the matter up with the Nizam's Government. But, as I said then, and I repeat it now it is impossible for any Government to function behind a panic-stricken people, because it is the courage and bravery of the people whom we serve that will give us the necessary courage to stand up to any situation that may arise because of these incidents. There are two elements which are causing trouble in the border area of the Nizam's Dominions. The Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen, which is an organization entirely operating from the Nizam's Dominions, is out of hand at the present time. If I may say so, without meaning any disrespect to the Government that exists in the Nizam's Dominions, as far as our border areas are concerned, in the two districts of Warangal and Nalkonda, it looks as if there is no civil Government, because in day time there is trouble from the Ittehad-ul-Muslimeens and in the night time my Communist friends, of whom Dr. John spoke much,

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take a hand. Therefore, Sir, the position of the population in these border areas is becoming more and more difficult, and the Government have got to consider what they could do to allay the fears that are present in the minds of the people inhabiting these border areas. I can assure hon. Gentlemen that all that could be done by the Provincial Government with regard to the strengthening of the Armed Reserves and putting in mobile patrols, so that they could move about to restore confidence in the people, is being done. What is possible with the limited forces at our command is being done. We are also making representations through the Agent-General in Hyderabad and the Government of India that if friendly relations are to exist between the Government of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad and the Government of this Province, these things must be put an end to, and confidence must be restored in the people of these border areas before the Government of His Exalted Highness can get the reciprocity which they expect from the Government of Madras. The reply has not, as yet, come. So, I am not in a position to say what the reply is. I can only say what we have done from our side. The negotiations between the Government of India and the Government of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad being incomplete, I, as a Member of the Provincial Government, bound by every tie to the Government of India, should do nothing to make the position difficult for the Government of India, who are eventually concerned in any settlement that they might come to with the Nizam's Government. So every action that I take must always be guided by this one principle, that is, 'Am I doing anything which will interfere with what is being done by the States Department of the Government of India?' That I am sure, Sir, hon. Members will admit, is the only guiding principle for a Provincial Government, because everything depends on the Government of India, and I am one of those who believe in a strong Central Government, specially at the inception of our freedom, because fissiparous tendencies will always tend to further division, and I, for one, do not desire that; because India united will be a power, and India divided may be nothing in the future order of the world. (Interruption.) I am coming to that if only you have patience.

"Two hon. Members referred to the question that is imminent, and that is the separation of the Andhra Province from the rest of the Province of Madras. I do not know, Sir, whether hon. Members have seen the Draft Constitution which has just been published by the Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly of India. Andhra Province is not mentioned in the schedule, but there is a note to the Schedule by the Members in which considering the agitation that has gone on for years and the demand for the Andhra Province, though it has not been found possible to include this in the Schedule, they recommend to the Dominion Government of India to appoint a Boundary Commission as soon as they can not merely to consider the question of Andhra Province, but also to consider the whole question of linguistic Provinces in the future Dominion of India, and make

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proposals, and then the Government of India, before the Constitution actually becomes law, might find it possible to include Andhra and other linguistic provinces that may be proposed in the Schedule, as was done under the Government of India Act of 1935, and having been a linguistic area, it of course will become a State as every Province and every State is to be called under the new Constitution when new elections take place and the new Constitution comes into force.

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" Sir, that is all I can say on the linguistic provinces. As a member of the Government, I am not free to tell you what I feel on this matter because the decision must be the decision of the Government of India as a whole which of course will be sent to the Government of Madras, as being concerned in the division.

" Then, Sir, the hon. Member for Chingleput and the hon. Member for Vizagapatam, both of them, dealt with this problem. They can only rest content with what I have said and not quarrel over the boundaries. The Boundary Commission which will be appointed and which will be composed of impartial judges will give decisions which would be satisfactory to all. As I have said, as a member of the Government, I am not free to convey any opinion because whatever that opinion may be will have to be presented by the Government as a whole to the Boundary Commission when they come to hear this question.

" Sir, my hon. Friend, Sir Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar raised three or four points which I am bound to deal with, coming from an authority like him. In the first place, he talked about a division of the executive and judicial functions of our Magistrates and he complained that no lay person was on this Committee and that the Committee was composed entirely of members of the legal profession. Well, Sir, I am not responsible for the appointment of this Committee but still, I am prepared to defend the action which my predecessor took on this question. Of course, you may say, one lawyer succeeding another naturally looks through the same glass as the other hon. Gentleman did. It is quite true that we are lawyers and whether, rightly or wrongly, we have faith in our own ideals of what is wrong and what is right. We have this excuse that we have been trained for this purpose. Sir, it is impossible for the layman to understand. Suppose an appendicitis case comes to me, is it right for me to try and say what ought to be done. I will have to run to either my hon. Friend, Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar or the Hon. the Leader of the House. In the same way, if two hon. Gentlemen want to defend their cases, they will naturally run to Dr. John for help, as they do not themselves know exactly what should be done. That is my justification for lawyers being on this Committee. It is a question entirely concerning the judicial administration and people with legal knowledge naturally know what ought to be done under particular conditions. Probably, it might have been possible that I might have acted differently if I had been in charge, to have one or two gentlemen who were not lawyers and who might have represented the common citizens and put their point of view in regard to this. But, the report having been made,

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I think my learned friend, Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar himself will admit that as the matter was imminent, the Government had to take it over and go on with it. That is the best thing which we have done and I hope by the end of April or the beginning of May, it will be possible to introduce this separation because, we have found after working out the costs, that it is not going to cost the budget of this Province more than about three lakhs of rupees each year. With that expenditure, I feel, it is well worth taking the steps which the Government hope to take.

"Then, Sir, there were references to what both the Chief Judges said with regard to the interference of the executive with the judiciary. Well, Sir, I was rather surprised, if I may say so, at the speeches of both the Hon'ble Judges. I would like to ask them a counter-question. Do they want an *imperium in imperio*? Government of the State is the administration as a whole and if the Judges think they are above Constitution, it really means an *imperium in imperio*. As a person versed in constitutional law, I feel it will be a very dangerous expedient when Judges think that they are so independent as to think themselves separate from the State as a whole. If I may cite an example, this difficulty was felt with regard to President Roosevelt's New Deal. The Supreme Court composed of Republican Judges put every obstacle they could in the way of the New Deal and eventually a special legislation was passed to increase the number of Judges in the Supreme Court and two Judges of the persuasion of the party that was in power were added to the Supreme Court so that the policy of the party could be carried through. That is what I mean by *imperium in imperio*. I am entirely, Sir, as a lawyer and as a constitutional lawyer, for the independence of this judiciary but at the same time, I must protest if Judges protested too much about their independence because, they could be independent without this protest. I am all for their independence, but if these protests become constant, it only means that they feel that they are above the State and that is what no man interested in the constitutional progress of this country can give into or accept without demur. I leave the matter at that.

"Well, Sir, there were references about the way in which the Police have behaved in certain places. I have made it public and have said to the Inspector-General down to the mere constable that circumstances have changed, that things have changed and a new orientation has come into the Government and that the Police are to feel themselves as part of the populace at large, and as persons who are there to safeguard the public interests and not to do zoolum, if I may use such an expression. It is of course rather hard if this doctrine goes down. I myself know there have been lapses from the rule of conduct that might be laid before them. But, we are all human and mistakes are bound to occur. I can assure hon. Gentlemen both on the opposite side of the House and on this side that the Police gradually are learning that a different atmosphere has come and it does require different methods and are realizing their duty towards the public as a whole."

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DR. V. K. JOHN :—“ Gradually or slowly? ”

* THE HON. DR. P. SUBBARAYAN :—“ Well, Sir, I tell Dr. John that I stick to the word I used and I am not going to change it because he wants a different word. Well, Sir, His Excellency the Governor the other day during the parade which was held in the City of Madras laid down certain principles for the Police and they were really so good that I have asked the Inspector-General to get them translated into all the languages in this Province and get them stuck at every Police station so that every policeman will understand what his duty is. I do not think anyone can put it in a better way than he has done. The eleven principles that he has enunciated cover almost all the ground I have been thinking of during the past year with regard to the conduct of the Police towards the general public and I am sure, that when these principles filter down to all the Police stations, the policemen will realize what their duties are on particular occasions. Might I not in exchange for this, demand from the public and specially from the members of this House that they should also help and co-operate with the police force, taking them as their friends and forgetting the suspicions that they might have had so that, with this public co-operation, the police force, as a whole, may realize that they are part of the public and that they have the sincere friendliness and the help of the public to carry through their very onerous duties? Because, whatever the powers of the policemen are, hon. Members will realize that they have very difficult duties to perform on occasions.

“ Then, Sir, the circumstances which led to riots in some parts of the Province were referred to by my hon. Friend, Mr. Uppi Sahib. I can assure him that the Government is not carried on, on behalf of any community or creed or religion. That is what I mean by a secular state to which he objected. I do not mean by a secular state that we should be a godless state. What I meant was that every man is entitled to carry through his religious practice as best as it is possible for him to do so. This Government will not interfere with the religious practice of any community or creed, subject to this one condition that it does not interfere with the statal administration. Subject to this, every community is free to carry on its religious practice as it wants to. As I said, I have visited two of the places where these unfortunate riots took place and I have fairly got an estimate of what happened. I want to tell the Hindu community through this House that this is not a Government carried on in the name of the Hindu community. This is a Government of all the people. If the Government feel that the Hindu community has behaved in a manner that is not worthy of them as members of the State, the Government will take every action that is necessary to put back the communities into the same position where they were before these riots took place. I hope, Sir, that this will satisfy the hon. Gentlemen because they know that it is the Government's intention not to make any distinction between community and community but

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to render equal justice to them all and punish the community which is in the wrong. I am afraid I cannot take the matter any further because, that is what, as a Government, we can do at the present time. What has happened has happened. Let us forget and let us not harp on it. That is what exactly one Muslim leader at Erode told me. If better relations between the two communities are to prevail, there is no use harping on what had happened. Let us think of the future state and all people can play their great part in the comity of nations if only we forget that we belong to this community or this caste or that creed. That is what the man who wrought our freedom always thought. Let us think of him; let us think of the heritage he has left and let us carry on in a manner and be worthy of what he has done for us because it is fortunate that we live in a generation that he lived and let us work in that spirit. If we work in that spirit, I feel certain that the future of this country is going to be great. I am sure, Sir, it is in this spirit hon. Members of this House should take this Budget. Some of them criticized it as a 'carrying-on' budget. They did not think that we are in a free India. I am afraid they are mistaken because the one thought that has been present in my colleague's mind all the time is 'what do a free people want' and it is in that spirit he has framed this budget. He is well able to defend it for himself; at the same time, I must protest against the expressions, like 'a carrying-on budget', 'an ordinary humdrum budget', which have been used during the debate in this House. To the best of his ability, my hon. Colleague, the Finance Minister, has tried his best to see what a free country and what a free people want in order to carry on in a manner so that they may become greater than they are to-day."

* THE HON. MR. DANIEL THOMAS :—" Mr. President, I should congratulate Dr. V. K. John on the force and vigour of his maiden speech as Leader of the Opposition. But I am afraid, I am not in a position to congratulate him either on the substance or the themes on which he dwelt in the course of his speech. As I listened to his impassioned rhetoric in support of the financial interests of particular concerns in the City of Madras, I was wondering whether there was confusion in his mind as regards his duties as a standing counsel for particular firms, and the duties, rights and responsibilities as a member of this august House. Hon. Members of this House have responsibilities and privileges but at the same time, they should take care to see that those responsibilities and privileges are not diverted for the championing of the cause of a particular individual or the financial interests of particular concerns." 4-45 p.m.

DR. V. K. JOHN :—" Sir, I protest against the insinuation against a Member of the House. I only just hinted at some of these matters. This insinuation is unnecessary and uncalled for."

THE HON. MR. DANIEL THOMAS :—" Sir, I am only saying that care should be taken to see that there is no confusion in

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this regard, particularly where advocates of long-standing are concerned. Advocates can work up enthusiasm and vigour not only for public causes but also on behalf of paying clients."

DR. V. K. JOHN :—" Sir, I protest, again, against this insinuation. I never pleaded for anybody or for anything. Certain things came to my notice from certain parties and I used them for the purpose of the debate. I protest against the insinuation and I am afraid, I must leave the House if the Hon. Minister goes on insulting me. Sir, I have some responsibility and some self-respect."

THE HON. MR. DANIEL THOMAS :—" I am sorry, Sir, if I have offended the hon. the Leader of the Opposition."

DR. V. K. JOHN :—" Certainly, Sir."

MR. PRESIDENT :—" The Hon. Minister may show where the hon. the Leader of the Opposition was wrong and then comment? "

THE HON. MR. DANIEL THOMAS :—" Sir, the hon. Members of this House have the valuable right of interpellations. They can use that right whenever they want to bring a particular matter to the notice of the Government. The proper procedure in this case would have been to table an interpellation to get the facts and the views of the Government and then take the opportunity of making further comments in the course of the discussion.

" Sir, two facts were asserted by the hon. Member. The first was that in taking over the chassis from Messrs. George Oakes and Company, the Government paid a price which was one thousand rupees less than the cost price."

DR. V. K. JOHN :—" Sir, I did not say so. I said it was less."

MR. PRESIDENT :—" I think, he said it was about five hundred rupees less."

* THE HON. MR. DANIEL THOMAS :—" Sir, the hon. Member mentioned some figure by which the price paid by the Government was less than the cost price of the chassis. The second thing, he said, was that we took hundred vehicles. Sir, on both these matters the hon. Member should have been in a position to ascertain the facts more carefully and also made all his observations in this House in a more responsible manner. These chassis are manufactured by Messrs. Ford & Co. Their distributor is another company which is a branch of Ford & Co. The dealers for the supply of these chassis to the public are Messrs. George Oakes & Co. We have the actual figures of the price of these chassis, as given by Messrs. Ford & Co., the distributors of these vehicles. The actual figure is Rs. 6,000 and odd. The figure that we give for the vehicles is the figure quoted by Messrs. Ford & Co., the distributors. It is not true to say, it is actually misleading to say, that the amount paid by the Government is anything less than the cost price. There can be no greater authority and no more responsible person to fix the actual cost price of these vehicles,

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than the distributors of the vehicles. Not only have we given the price as fixed by the distributors but we have also undertaken to pay the incidental charges to Messrs. George Oakes & Co., for transporting these vehicles to premises of the Government Transport.

" Sir, this is a matter which is attended to by the Home Department. On Saturday the 21st February, representations were made to me by Mr. Anantaramakrishnan. The Secretary to the Home Department was away then. I sent the representation to the Secretary, asking him to go into the matter, examine it thoroughly, arrange for a meeting with the Provincial Motor Transport Controller and Mr. Anantharamakrishnan and see what can be done. The Secretary to the Home Department has sent a note to Mr. Anantharamakrishnan fixing 3-30 p.m. on the 8th instant for a meeting with the Provincial Motor Transport Controller and the Nationalization Officer to discuss the matter. So far as the actual number of vehicles taken over is concerned, it is not hundred but only twenty-seven. This was about the 23rd or 24th of February. And, as I said, the representation received on the matter is being examined by the Home Secretary and I have received a note saying that the Secretary has fixed a time and place for discussing the question with the persons concerned.

" Sir, the Hon. the Leader of the Opposition makes it a ground of criticism that the Government should have the matter 'under consideration'. Sir, what is it that he expects us to do? Does he want the Government to dispose of the matter without any consideration? Is it not necessary that the matter should be taken into consideration? As an experienced lawyer when he receives briefs, does he not give them consideration as to what arguments he should advance? The fact that a matter is 'under consideration' is not at all a point for criticism. Of course, as an orator, a rhetorician, he can make fun of the phrase 'under consideration'. But, as a matter of fact, these vehicles were taken over only so late as the 23rd or the 24th of February. There is a regular legal provision for fixing the price of transport vehicles under the Transport Control Order. Under that provision, the Provincial Motor Transport Controller has fixed a particular price and the vehicles have been taken over. Representations have been made and these representations are, I repeat, 'under consideration'. I submit, the hon. the Leader of the Opposition cannot expect uncommon speed because the person involved in the case is an uncommon person. He claims to plead for the common man and for the man in the street. Here, we have one of the biggest Motor Combines in the province. We have been as prompt as possible in taking the matter into consideration. After all, the 8th of March is only two days off. There has been absolutely no delay in the matter. The fact that the matter is 'under consideration' does not, I submit, reflect any discredit on the Government. It only shows that the Government are free and fair in considering the representations made. There is, therefore absolutely no

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substance in the criticisms which the hon. the Leader of the Opposition has made so vigorously and in such an impassioned manner.

“ Sir, I now come to the more general question. The two portfolios I hold, Motor Transport and Prohibition, are not at all the favoured or the favourite subjects of the hon. the Leader of the Opposition. He has great antipathy to both these topics. Sir, I should like to make certain general observations in connexion with the administration of the Motor Vehicles Act, and the proceedings of statutory bodies constituted under the Act. Both the hon. the Leader of the Opposition and my esteemed friend Dr. Lakshmanaswamy Mudaliyar have made some observations as regards the judgment in the S.R.V.S. case. The implications in their criticism seems to be that the Government have been improperly interfering with the discretion exercised by these quasi-judicial and statutory bodies constituted under the Act and therefore there has been executive interference with the judicial functions. Sir, there seems to be a certain amount of misapprehension, if I may say so, as regards the scope and effect of the judgment in this case. So far as the Court of Justice are concerned, they are only concerned with the interpretation of the meaning of the existing laws. They are only concerned with the question of what is the law, what is the statute which governs the administration of the Motor Transport Department, what are the provisions, and what is the extent of authority vested in the Government for the administration of this Act. But questions of policy such as, whether permits should be given or not, whether nationalization should be undertaken by the Government, are matters with which the Courts of Justice have nothing to do. The Transport Act passed recently by the British Parliament contains provisions which are exactly similar to the powers given under the Motor Vehicles Bill, viz., the power to issue general instructions and the power of revision of orders of lower authorities are vested in the Minister. With these matters of policy the Courts of Justice have nothing to do.

“ Sir, the difficulty in the S.R.V.S. case arose with reference to a mistake in this point of view. The actual subject-matter in issue in the High Court judgment was a Government Order issued in December 1946. Incidentally, it was long before I took charge of this portfolio. Anyway, we are prepared to defend that measure even though it was taken by our predecessor. The Government Order issued by the Government in 1946 said that the Government were intending to nationalize Motor Transport in the province and that it was not, therefore, desirable that long-term permits should be given to private operators. The real purpose of the Government Order was not to embarrass private operators. On the other hand, it was intended to give them a fair warning, that the position that had been obtaining till then, was going to be changed, that the Government was going to take over the Transport Services in the province and therefore that they might so arrange their matters as to be prepared for the contingency. The

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Government Order was issued with the object of giving a fair notice and warning to the private operators. The Government Order was issued under section 62 of the Motor Vehicles Act under which temporary permits for a period of four months could be given and also under rule 15 of the Motor Vehicles Rules under which instructions could be given by the Government to the subordinate authorities and these subordinate authorities are bound by these instructions.

" Sir, I may say in passing that the Motor Vehicles Act is an Act passed by the Central Legislature. The rules which have been framed and adopted by the Madras Government are rules, models of which were furnished by the Government of India. It is only in accordance with the Act passed by the Central Legislature and the lines of the model rules and regulations given to us by the Government of India, that the rules and sections have been framed by the Madras Government. In the S.R.V.S. case, after examining the structure of the whole Act and the rules framed under the Act for carrying out the purposes of the Act, the learned Judge held that the particular rule 150 was beyond the scope of the rule-making power vested in the Government under the statutory provisions of the Act of the Central Legislature. If rule 150 had been validly framed in accordance with the provisions of the Act, the Government Order would be perfectly in order. It is only a difference of view between the Government and their legal advisers on the one side and the High Court on the other side as to whether rule 150 is beyond the rule-making power of the Government. Are not such differences of opinion likely to arise? Are there not occasions for these differences? A learned Judge of the very same High Court here said that the Government were within their power in issuing the Government Order in the first instance. The Government held the same view. Even the judgments of the High Court and the decisions of Full Benches are being taken to the Privy Council. Therefore there was no improper interference. The Government Order was issued in December 1946 under section 62 of the Act and under rule 150. The Government put one interpretation on that provision. It was not accepted by the Full Bench of the High Court, though one learned Judge of the High Court accepted it. The power to give instructions and to direct the issue of temporary permits is a question of policy. We are therefore coming to both Houses of Legislature with a legislation stating that such powers are necessary.

" I give you a practical instance. Suppose petrol is short, are we not to give instructions that permits should not be given to new petrol buses to run on routes? Should we not take into consideration the question about the availability of charcoal in our province? These are general questions and the Government have to issue instructions in the light of the overall position in the province. Such provisions are entirely in consonance with the latest Act of the British Parliament. It is a question of policy of the Government issuing directions in general matters and of revising our powers in accordance with the decision of law courts. It is for

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that purpose that we are coming before both Houses of the Legislature. The Bill has gone before the Select Committee of both Houses and it is up to this House either to accept the policy as proposed by us or not to. As was suggested by Sir Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar, there is no question of disobedience of the High Court or to get over its judgment. If in the existing framework of regulations there is a certain lacuna, certainly it is the duty and responsibility of the Government of the Province to see that that lacuna or defect is remedied by the proper democratic process of bringing forward a Bill. The proper remedy is to have an Act passed by both Houses of Legislature. So far as the question of S.R.V.S. case is concerned, there is absolutely no question of the Government defeating the object of the judgment or disregarding the observations of the High Court. We thought that rule 150 was valid as a rule. The finding of the High Court is that this rule is ultra vires unless embodied in the Act itself. It is in pursuance of the judgment of the High Court that the Bill has been framed. I would submit that there is absolutely no question of interfering with the independence of the judiciary. We hope and trust that the judiciary will safeguard the rights and liberties of the people in our country. It is not the remotest idea of the Government, in bringing forward the Bill under consideration, to disregard or disrespect the authority and judgment of the High Court.

" Sir, as far as the question of expropriation is concerned, curiously enough my hon. friend Dr. John never talked of expropriation of the zamindaris. In one sense these capitalist concerns of Madras are being expropriated by my hon. Friend Dr. John. Apparently he claims that he alone can expropriate their property. So far as the question of expropriation is concerned, here again we are on a line with the measures taken in various countries of the world and in other parts of our own country. Nationalization here is part of a general movement in all countries. In various parts of India itself, in Travancore, Hyderabad and other places they are nationalizing the road services. The provision regarding compensation payable by us has been made as in the Bombay Act. In Bombay there are many more leading; and bigger businessmen than Madras can boast of. The Bombay Act provides compensation exactly on the same lines as proposed in our present Bill. So far as the question of expropriation is concerned, there is no intention on the part of the Government to expropriate any existing rights. The point is this. Under Section 299 of the Government of India Act, the Government should pay compensation for property taken over. There have been quite a large number of highly legal authorities to show that these licences and permits given, are not property. Therefore under the strict technical sense, no compensation need be paid at all. But for the cessation of business of the existing firms which have been in the line as a result of the nationalization scheme, the Government propose to pay compensation to them. The Government are trying to give a fair and a square deal. We gave fair notice and warning to these business interests that we were going to take the routes

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ourselves in the new order of things. We provide compensation, fair compensation on sound lines as accepted by the Bombay Government. Therefore there is no question of expropriation at all.

My hon. Friend, the Leader of the Opposition, spoke of the common man. At the same time he pleaded for the uncommon man, the enormously wealthy man and the business man. It is rather an inconsistent position. On the other hand, so far as the Government are concerned, we are perfectly consistent. We are taking up two lines, Prohibition on one side for the benefit of the common man and the other, nationalization of motor transport for the convenience and benefit of the common man. I would submit therefore that these two policies which are not favourites of my hon. friend, the Leader of the Opposition, are in line with the very scheme which he himself adumbrated, namely, the benefit, welfare and the economic and social uplift of the common man.

My hon. friend, asked 'what about housing', what have the Government done about housing? Have they built houses? He said that the Minister for housing is very happy over the situation. I am in a sense happy over the situation. (Dr. V. K. John:— 'The Hon. Minister was smiling.') I was smiling and wondering how consistent people here are for housing the poor man when gentlemen like Dr. John with large incomes, buy lands at enormous cost, so that no land is available for the common man. I can only smile at the sovereign remedy proposed by my hon. friend to relieve the housing distress of the common man. If we go to the cheris, we will find that men are living in slums and dirty sheds and people spend half of their income for drinking. The policy of Prohibition which we are implementing is to enable them to save money, to live better, to have more wholesome food, to have better cloth and to build cleaner, healthier and better houses for themselves and their families. I am happy over the policy of Prohibition which the present Government are implementing, because the housing problem of the poor people also will be solved in course of time. My hon. friend said 'you are attempting the impossible; is it possible to implement Prohibition successfully'? A famous Chinese philosopher said 'my religion is to do the impossible and to walk the impossible way.' We have the splendid and memorable example of that principle in the life of Mahatma Gandhi. What is apparently impossible and what is apparently unattainable, has been achieved by the life and death of Mahatma Gandhi. I would therefore submit that we are consistent, that we are democratising motor transport and we are attempting to solve to-day the impossible problem and to walk the impossible way, in the way of the amelioration of the masses and the people of the country by successfully implementing the prohibition policy throughout the length and breadth of the province."

* THE HON. SRI B. GOPALA REDDI:—"Mr. President, Sir, my task has become very easy after five of my Hon. Colleagues have replied to various criticisms levelled against the budget. I am particularly happy as as many as 34 hon. Members of this

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House have taken part in the discussion and 55 hon. members in the other House. I think this is a record number for any Legislature in India that so many speakers have come forward and offered their criticisms about the budget prepared by the Cabinet. Having heard all the criticisms of hon. members from various angles, personal angles and from local standpoints, we have the clue to the immensity of the whole problem. I do not at all criticise hon. Members for offering their remarks on the budget from their own angles. For, it gives a complete picture of our requirements in all departments of life. If you take medicine, or education or housing or agriculture or industries, our requirements are immense and our problems are very complex. So, with that picture before us, we have got to walk our way to achieve our objects. These cannot be achieved overnight. It is no use criticising us for preparing such a budget even after 15th August. Repeated reference was made to 15th August. Some hon. Members said that, even after the attainment of independence, even when we are free, the same old and humdrum budget is presented to us; this is a standstill budget and there is nothing new about it. We do not want to claim new things every year. We do not want to do acrobats. We do not want to have feats to show to the people every time and to show that we have new performances every time and that we follow a new way. By pursuing our policy and by giving more monies to the departments concerned, we will achieve our goal in a sure and steady manner instead of having anything new every time. This is a better scheme and it is bound to satisfy people. It is our intention and we want to do some sincere work with regard to rural reconstruction, Harijan uplift and khadi work without undertaking any new schemes. We want to go slowly under the present circumstances with our own policy of social reconstruction. 15th August has not changed the mind of anybody. Has it changed the Muslim Leaguers in our country? Has it changed the minds of the Members of the Legislature here? Has it changed the minds of our own people in the country? Has it changed the minds of our own officers? Then why should hon. Members say that this budget is a humdrum budget and that there is nothing fresh. By a new process we shall have a new India. 15th August has given us an opportunity to serve the people. It is an occasion given to the people to shoulder the fullest responsibility of maintaining law and order and for relieving the poverty of the country.

5-15 P.m. “ We need not lay much stress on the 15th August. Long before that, the Provincial Government had a nationalized programme of their economics and chalked out a programme of expenditure, and had it disposed of in their own way. Neither the Government of India nor the Government of Great Britain interfered with Provincial policies. Except in certain things which were charged on the revenues of the Province by the Government of Great Britain, there is nothing else. Even from 1937 the Provincial Ministries chalked out their own policies and implemented their programmes. Therefore, 15th August is nothing except that they got their liberty on that date. We all know how liberty is costly to us. As soon as

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we got this liberty, suddenly senior officers left us on various grounds; the British Army which was here an Army of occupation had left us and new problems cropped up. We wanted this responsibility and we got it and we are shouldering it. Liberty is a very expensive thing not only for us but for all. Already we have seen the blessings of this liberty. We have paid a costly price for it but in the wake of this liberty of 15th of August, it has not changed the mentality of anybody. If it has really changed anything, it has accentuated the hatred and bitterness between the various communities in this country and made the work of Government very difficult.

"While the various speeches of representatives of the people in this and the other House represented as to what has to be done and what has to be sought after, the budget presented represents what has been achieved. While speeches made by hon. Members sitting on the other side, the accredited representatives of the people represent what has to be done in future, the budget that we have presented is a solid achievement, is a solid reality of which the people of this Province can very well be proud. We have no claims to perfection and we have no right to claim perfection, and we do not say that there is not anything more to be done for the people and this is the last word to be said about the aspirations of the people. We have to strive, not for decades, but for centuries to come, to take our rightful place in the comity of nations. We are immensely backward and there is poverty, rural indebtedness, disease and dearth of everything are so great that we cannot achieve it even in decades but even in quarter of a century to come. So, Sir, with this background the whole thing has to be viewed at. As Tagore said: 'Tirelessly stretching its arms towards perfection.'

The budget represents the present and the solid achievement of the people's Government.

"Sir, many people and more especially the hon. the Leader of the Opposition has been complaining very vehemently on behalf of the common man and the common man's politics has overtaken the minds of our representatives and there were speeches which were bordering on socialism, communism and what not. It is a welcome feature and I am sure the various political parties in this Province are thinking mostly of the common man, the man in the street, the man who is working at the sweat of his brow and the man who is breaking the bricks and laying them on the road so that the road may be kept quite safe for the pedestrians. It is a welcome change and it is the time spirit that has overtaken us. I may assure the hon. the Leader of the Opposition that we too are common people; we have lived with them and we have done some sacrifice for the benefit of the common man. So, there is no use of indulging in cheap jibes by saying 'this is a capitalist budget, it has not done enough for the common man; it has not relieved unemployment; it has not industrialized the country; it has not revolutionized anything in agriculture and so on and so forth.' We are aware of the huge task before us; we are aware

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that the common man cannot be hood-winked or bye-passed: We are also aware that he is going to be the master in future with the advent of the adult franchise. I may tell hon. Members opposite that we too under the leadership of the Congress are striving for the establishment of a Socialist State which does not dream of so many 'isms.' I claim that the Indian National Congress is a Socialist body with the hon. Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru at the helm of affairs. I am sure there cannot be a better leader who has done so much to rouse the economic consciousness of the people and who has coupled economics with politics so that the people of this country may reap the benefits of Swaraj in the fullest sense of that term. He has directed the Congress to put up a particular programme so that with their spirit of patriotism coupled with their own self-interest, people who are more socialistic minded can join the Congress and strengthen it so that any obstruction in our way which had been put before by the British Government could be wiped out with the help of the Congress and under the blessings of Gandhiji. There may be a slight difference between the socialism put forward by other people and Gandhian socialism and as a result of following Gandhian socialism we may not have an extended programme of socialism which other people want and which does not suit our country. But we are sure that Gandhian socialism will ultimately benefit the people of this country and relieve them from their rural indebtedness and poverty. Nobody here in this Treasury Bench is a capitalist in any sense of that term and I can claim, besides the claim that the Congress is a socialist organisation, that all the Congress Members sitting here and more especially the Ministers, subscribe to the socialist doctrine that the common man should be served first. They sincerely strive that the men in villages should be uplifted and that the Harijans should be served in the right spirit. So, Sir, my hon. Friend Dr. V. K. John in his enthusiasm to criticise the Government has criticised it very vehemently because they have not relieved unemployment and because 15th August has not brought in its wake all the benefits which ought to flow after the advent of Swaraj. Sir, I ask 'Is there any item of expenditure which goes to show that this Government is serving the capitalist?' Can he show anything that was done by the Government which puts more money into the capitalist's pocket? Does he not find paragraphs after paragraphs containing items of expenditure for Part II Schemes enumerated in the Budget even under the present circumstances when we have a policy of complete prohibition as our goal and there is a steep sliding off in revenue from 17 crores to 3 crores only for which we have taken credit for next year? So, are we not doing what could be done in the present circumstances? Are we or are we not strengthening the programme of the Congress put forward in 1920, namely, Khadi, Harijan work, prohibition, basic education, rural reconstruction, etc.? That is the standard from which you will have to judge us. If there are certain things in the budget which you find and which go towards the constructive programme of the Congress, then do not hesitate to compliment

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the Government. Sir, prohibition is a very expensive thing. We all know how seriously the fall in revenue under that head is going to handicap our developmental works. I need not mention them. But I cannot hide my feelings that it is going to cost us very much. Yet, because people wanted it and because we have promised to give it to them, irrespective of cost, we are implementing it. From 2nd October 1948 the fall in revenue will be from 17 crores to 7 crores and from next year onwards there will not be anything under the head of excise revenue. It is not as if we are unmindful of the economics, or the ethics or the mathematics underlying the consequence of such a steep downfall in excise revenue. We have taken this step because we wanted that the people should be saved on any account and that complete prohibition should be introduced in the province. That again is one of the chief planks of the constructive programme of the Congress. Everybody, whether official or non-official can say with pride that Madras has gone dry and Madras is the first province to have gone dry though Government have lost a revenue of 17 crores.

"So far about prohibition. Harijan work also is a big item and we are awaiting as I said the report of the Harijan Welfare Committee which has been recently appointed to go into this question. We are all anxious to do our utmost for our Harijans. We have almost doubled the grant. We have enhanced the grant from Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 4,000 for boarding and we all mean spending it within the year itself. About one crore of rupees can be drawn from the Harijan Welfare Fund for their uplift and we are only anxious that the scheme under preparation should be expedited soon, and the work begun.

"Sri H. M. Jagannatham was very vehemently criticising the Government and said that the portfolio now held by Mr. Kurmayya should be handed over to somebody because he has not done anything for the Harijans. It is a very good criticism levelled against Mr. Kurmayya by another Member belonging to his community. Well, I may tell Mr. Jagannatham that my hon. Colleague Mr. Kurmayya is very anxious that he must serve his community men—the Harijans—truly and he is urging all the Ministers including the Premier and the Finance Minister that more grants should be set apart for the sake of Harijans. So we have made education free to Harijans studying both in the Medical and Engineering colleges and we have increased the boarding grants. House-sites should be acquired for them so that they can live under healthier conditions. If things take time and if schemes are not ready, certainly you cannot blame the Government because things are not done over-night. At the same time—Mr. Jaganantham is not here—I may ask him why the Harijans should claim repeatedly any preferential claim? I am not saying this in any spirit of retrogression. After listening to the speech of Mr. Jagannatham, though I claim myself to be a good friend of Harijans whether as an individual or as forming part of a Government, I wish to ask him why the Harijans should claim such preferential treatment. Are they now a superior class or an inferior

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class especially after untouchability has been removed? After all, their economic disabilities have to be looked after along with those of the people like Yenadies, Dongas, Damras or any other community. There is a tendency among people, even after untouchability has been removed, to put forward their social disabilities and claim preferential treatment and say 'I must get a gazetted post; I must be started on a salary of Rs. 300, whether I have passed only third-class or fifth-class and whether I am a failed S.S.L.C. or not; because I am born to a Harijan I must be given a gazetted post carrying a high salary'. Sometimes, with regard to these claims we have to think and ponder over whether the Harijans are claiming too much or not. There are about 30 Members both in the lower and the upper House here representing the Harijan community and I ask them whether what is claimed for them is not too much and whether they are within limit. We are all anxious to do what we can with regard to uplift of Harijans, but we cannot go out of the way and do anything caring only for their interests. Other backward communities are crying for more facilities and for their representation in the services and elsewhere. For instance there are the Agency people who are looking to us for necessary help. I think the Harijans must sooner or later learn to sail along with other economically backward communities without unnecessarily pushing forward their claims in season and out of season."

DR. V. K. JOHN :—" Harijans and Brahmins are the two favoured communities."

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* THE HON. SRI B. GOPALA REDDI :—" Likewise, Sir, in regard to khadi also, it is not so very easy to spread the cult of khadi and with all the spiritual force of Gandhiji and with all his propaganda for khadi the achievement of khadi is not very much. We all realise that. The percentage of khadi-weaving people in Madras or in India today may be very small. So, there are some inherent difficulties in spreading the cult of khadi and yet Government are pushing forward those khadi schemes which were started by our predecessors in office and are vigorously pursued by the present Ministry. There may not, of course, be anything new in what the present Ministry is doing, but we are putting forth our zeal equally in regard to the spread of khadi and perhaps spending as much money as was spent by the Prakasam Ministry so that the cult of village industries and cottage industries might spread into the village and the villagers might have some subsidiary occupation to augment their income from agricultural operations."

" Similarly we are trying to give more Hindi Instructors to the schools in order to spread the Hindi language so that we may fall in line with the rest of India in regard to the development of Hindi."

" In respect of the Basic education of Gandhiji we are doing our best to see that it is implemented by our Education Department, so that in spite of our inherent handicaps which I am going to refer to shortly, we are trying to implement the Congress constructive programme. Our inherent difficulties are Prohibition, which is a

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very expensive undertaking and which we have willingly undertaken and the food situation and to add to all our difficulties, there is the failure of monsoon. Sir, as I said in the other House, every inch of rain that failed in the proper season cost the Government about 40 lakhs of rupees or more and many more times to the ryots. It is all a question of 5 or 6 inches of rain in the proper season and it would have saved the Government crores of rupees. So, Sir, mathematically speaking, though it is nothing to us, it is costing the Government for every inch of rain about 40 lakhs and odd on a moderate computation.

“ Sir, having said that, we have spent over 10 crores of rupees over the previous year in 1947-48 under various heads. I may just illustrate my point. Under Education, the actuals for 1946-47 were 590 lakhs and the Budget Estimate 699 lakhs but the Revised Estimate was 726 lakhs and our next year's provision is 820 lakhs. So, from 1946-47 it has risen up from 590 lakhs to 820 lakhs in the Budget year. Likewise, under various other heads, whether Irrigation, Agriculture, Public Health or Medical, there is an increased expenditure, i.e., more than the Budget estimate. In the Budget Estimate for the next year, we have provided larger sums even over the Revised Estimate of 1947-48. Under Construction of Irrigation and Navigation and Embankments and drainage works, actuals for 1946-47 are 60 lakhs and we have provided for 380 lakhs for the Budget year and under Capital outlay, on Industrial Development, actuals are 13 lakhs in 1946-47 and in the Budget year we are providing for 85 lakhs. Like that, Sir, under every other head there is an increased expenditure and there is also increased provision.

“ Sir, so much of reference was made to the Revenue Reserve Fund and Mr. Suryanarayana Rao, Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar and several others have referred to it. Sir, if it is an axiom that we should not touch the Revenue Reserve Fund normally, then, I suppose, I need not also add to it. Some hon'ble Members complemented me except I think Mr. Suryanarayana Rao, for adding to the Revenue Reserve Fund to the tune of 255 lakhs of rupees. This we are gradually adding after spending under the various heads and after paying the Government of India 6 lakhs, not provided in the last year's Budget, 47 lakhs to the Ports Fund not provided for in the Budget and after paying 133 lakhs to the Madras Electric Corporation, which was again not provided in the Budget and after providing for Police expenditure which went up to 177 lakhs more than the Budget provision after providing for all these we have added 255 lakhs to the Revenue Reserve Fund in the current year. So, Sir, if I can add to it why not I draw on it in 1948-49? That is my question. If you compliment me for starting the fund or adding to the Fund in the current year—after all is it wrong to build it or add to it—I must also have the right to draw upon it in the course of the next year if it is found necessary. No doubt, we have to carry out the Prohibition policy but since development works and irrigation works also we are undertaking in view of the failure of the monsoon, I should be

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permitted to draw from the Revenue Reserve Fund next year if required. After all, is it such a sacrosanct object or a corpus on which we should not lay our hands? Whether it was built up by me or by my predecessors I have added to it this year and if I want something next year, is it wrong to draw upon it? No doubt, it is meant to finance some of our works and to meet the possibility of any deficit next year or in the coming years on account of any steep fall in prices and things like that. So, Sir, it is no unhealthy principle when I look to the Revenue Reserve Fund for any possibility of deficit during the next year. If there is an improvement next year in the Revenue under the various heads and if some such miracle happens next year, of course, there may not be any necessity to draw upon it and I may perhaps add to it, but it may be a distant hope and may not be easy to achieve either. Yet, Sir, I have read the speech of the Finance Minister of the Bombay Government and of the Finance Ministers of other Provincial Governments—I think I have seen also the speech of the Finance Minister of the U.P. Government—and I know in Bombay definitely they have drawn upon the Revenue Reserve Fund which they have built up for the purpose, because during the war years they could not spend on many things. Now that we have started on our development works, it is but right that we should draw upon that Fund and there is nothing unusual in doing so and we mean doing it.

“ Sir, we are also painfully aware that there is a lot of wastage of water in our province. While there is famine always threatening us in the country, we see millions and millions of gallons of water going waste into the sea. It is really a pity that on one side there is famine, and there is so much of wastage on the other and we mean harnessing all those waters and we are taking steps steadily and slowly towards that direction, so that all our rivers may be made useful for our irrigation purposes, hydro-electric purposes and if possible, for navigation, etc. Sir, irrigation is getting a top priority and whenever a scheme is ready, whether productive or unproductive, it is given necessary priority and immediate orders are issued for taking up that work. Even schemes which were never thought of by the Madras Government and not even investigated before, are now being taken up and sanctioned, even though they may not prove productive, because of the food situation and because of our anxiety to see that our waters are fully harnessed. We have taken up the Tungabhadra project and provided three crores in the Budget year and we are also pushing up the investigation of the Rampada Sagara Project. Sir, my Friend Sri Ramabhadra Raju from East Godavari, was asking us, how long are you going to take over its investigation; you are delaying its investigation and when are you going to take up this scheme; perhaps there is some ulterior motive in not taking it up and so on. It is such a big scheme and I refuse to be hustled either by the department or by the I.C.S. officers, whether here or elsewhere, in undertaking this or any other scheme. Engineers, for their own reasons would like to show some big projects, they want long-range schemes—even foreign engineers may find it feasible to undertake the scheme. With all that,

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I say, we are ever ready to examine their reports, but we have to see from the revenue and financial point of view whether it is going to be feasible or not, how it is going to be financed and what is the amount the Government of India are going to give us and some other aspects have also to be examined and I therefore refuse to be hustled, as I said before, in the matter of taking up this scheme. In spite of the reports of the engineers and the departments concerned, every possible step will be taken to hasten it, but all aspects must be considered before the scheme is sanctioned. For instance, there is the question of the submergible area in Hyderabad, in Bastar and in Orissa and that has to be settled first. This has not been done so far and the Governments of Hyderabad, Orissa and the Bastar State have not been addressed and their agreement has to be obtained before undertaking one of the biggest dams in India. We cannot undertake it merely for curiosity or for the satisfaction of the engineers. As a matter of fact, the revenue aspect of the project has not yet been gone into, except in regard to East Godavari and the opinions of the revenue officers with regard to West Godavari and Kistna which are also involved in this project, have not yet been obtained. So, Sir, simply because somebody wants it or it may be useful to somebody else, I cannot undertake the scheme, but every aspect must be examined before we take up one of the biggest schemes in India and we are looking forward to the day when the Ramapada Sagara will be taken up and completed. But, the beginning and ending of it must be based on the full data available and how it is going to be financed. So, Sir, all these aspects have to be gone into in respect of the project.

“Likewise, Sir, in respect of the Sangameswaram Project, its investigation has been sanctioned and we have also provided some amount for it in the Budget. That is going to be a big scheme in our province and as it is going to benefit the Rayalaseema—I may also add Nellore into Rayalaseema—we are anxious to push forward that scheme as early as possible. Sir, in this connection, complaint was made by my hon. Friend, Mr. Ramabhadra Raju and he asked what about the Gandikotta Project? Sir, we have almost completed its investigation and we know its exact position, but in the meanwhile representations have come from the Engineers and from Revenue officials as to whether something else could not be done. Sir, when we are undertaking big schemes and spending lakhs and crores of rupees, of course, every honest suggestion coming either from officials or non-officials must be gone into before finally the scheme is sanctioned. So, Sir, there is no intention of putting off the Gandikotta scheme or any other scheme, whether productive or not, whether they are cheap schemes or costly ones; they are fully gone into, and all possible steps are being taken so that we may take them up after proper scrutiny with the data available.

“Some reference also was made to the construction of bridges over the Godavari and the Pennar. I have also some literature from the department about the Godavari bridge. The scheme is now pending with the Government of India whose sanction is awaited; because all expenditure on National Highways has to be sanctioned by the Government of India, as they are financing it. We are also

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devoting our attention to the construction of a bridge across the Pennar. We are awaiting the report of the Chief Engineer, and when it is received it has to be submitted to the Government of India for sanction. We hope to take it up in 1948-49. So also the bridge across the Bharatapuzha, the bridge at Pugalur across the Cauveri, the Pennar bridge and the Godavari bridge at Alamur. There is the difficulty of securing technical personnel. We don't have a sufficient number of supervisors, overseers and assistant engineers. We have to train them up, and sometimes we have to await men for such personnel. Then again, material also is in short supply, and thus, things cannot be done as expeditiously as we want them to do. I assure our friends that we are hastening the work by telephone talks and departmental orders. In this way we are trying to cut off from the red-tape.

"Red-tape also came for criticism."

MR. PRESIDENT :—" I think Government will be well advised to change the colour of the tape." (Laughter.)

DR. V. K. JOHN :—" You can change it into blue."

THE HON. SRI B. GOPALA REDDI :—" No, blue pad is for special case. The Hon. Minister for Education is in charge of stationery and I am thinking of suggesting a change in the colour of the ribbon itself. Red-tape has become a very unfortunate thing. It can't speak for itself. There is nobody to defend it. Red-tape is an examination of a thing from all aspects and angles."

DR. V. K. JOHN :—" You are defending it."

THE HON. SRI B. GOPALA REDDI :—" I do not defend it. There is nobody to speak in its favour, and it can't defend itself. Red-tape is a minute examination of a thing from various angles by various departments. If you cut short red-tape and if you begin to pass orders from Ministerial level without scrutiny, perhaps you will have to repent in leisure after wasting so much money. Haste makes waste is a good proverb. And I am not to be a party to cut away from the red-tape easily. While I want expeditious despatch of orders and other things I feel a proper scrutiny of a thing from all aspects and angles is a *sine qua non* of good administration. There is no use in casting cheap jibes at red-tape. Because all empires were built on red-tape probably they also came to ruin by red-tape. But the experience of administration in England and America is based on red-tape. So let us not, in our anxiety for reform and expedition of work, get rid of scrutiny and examination from all aspects and angles."

SRI S. B. ADITYAN :—" I wanted some information from you "

THE HON. SRI B. GOPALA REDDI :—" I shall certainly get all the points raised in the course of the debate examined by the departments."

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MR. PRESIDENT :—“ The hon. Member was not here when the Hon. Revenue Minister replied.”

* THE HON. SRI B. GOPALA REDDI :—“ But I will also say this, with regard to those things, they cannot be attended to in the current budget year.

“ Sir so under the present circumstances, with the Congress backing, with the Congress ideology before us, with a sincere desire to serve the people, we have done something and we do not claim any perfection for it, though I may say, perfection may be achieved in due course, say, perhaps in fifty years; because so many things have to be done; for the problems are so acute, so complex, so varied and so various that we have to put our entire energy before we can say that people have achieved something tangible; and also our officials are working in the same old groove as heretofore and thus we have to run the administration through the existing channels of administration, and for the time being we have to pull together, so that the common man may be saved from the present crisis.

“ One thing more and I have done. Mr. Govindacharyulu was very vehement about the way in which officers behaved in the mufassal, and he said the officers are corrupt, tyrannical, unsympathetic, not moving with the times and oppressing and harassing the people. He wanted the Ministers to see that effective control is exercised from above. At the same time Mr. Purushotham was complaining that Ministers were interfering too much in district matters, in matters of local importance, and it is not a right thing for the Government to do so. The two speeches represent two different types. One represents absence of interference from the top and the other represents extreme interference by the Ministers. So in between these two . . .”

DR. V. K. JOHN :—“ Adopt the golden mean.”

* THE HON. SRI B. GOPALA REDDI :—“ It is to be followed not only by the Ministers, but also by the Leader of the Opposition. (Laughter). We are here, in our own way, trying to follow the golden mean. For it is also right that we should allow ample latitude, ample freedom to district officials so that they can exercise their judgment and act suitably to the occasion. We are trying to follow the golden mean, and we mean to follow it, so that people in the districts may not feel that we have left the officials to themselves and we do not wish to interfere with their work.

“ Then, Sir, I do not want in season and out of season some respectable members to dub our officers as being corrupt, dishonest, unreliable, tyrannical and oppressive and all that. Perhaps it may be true that some are corrupt. But I do not want it to be repeated lest it should degenerate officers and make them despondent. It is not always they have to do very complimentary work. Sometimes their work does not get publicity it deserves. All the same they do their work in a splendid way, though in a humble way. Sometimes, they have to do work in remote parts of the Province with no chance of getting any recognition. So to dub the entire class of

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officers as corrupt is not fair. It will only degenerate them. I do not want the policemen to be called :— 'You are all rascals, knaves and scoundrels'. We are spending six crores on them. We want them to defend us in times of crisis, whether it is capital or labour, zamindar or tenant, or when any rowdism starts. I must call them on such occasions, and they must help us; otherwise the new-born freedom will be a mirage. So I do not want the department officers from the petty peon to the high officers to be called day-in and day-out, as very unsympathetic, tyrannical, oppressive and harassing. I do not want that propaganda to be carried on against them day-in and day-out, over whom we are spending 20 crores by way of salary, pension and allowances. Having to spend so much money on them, we should, by patting them and by taking them along with us get the best out of them. in our difficult task of administration. I do not want any member or anybody should in season and out of season repeat the charge, 'you are all blackguards, knaves, rascals, and you are all corrupt'. Let them have some good word from you, if you want them really to control the situation. Let the Police get its due regard. Let them get compliments. Our members will do well to contact them and cheer them in their task. I do not want them to be dubbed as corrupt and all that.

" Finally, Sir, I have to say this: it was very unfortunate—I referred to this also in the Lower House—we had the N.G.O. strike. I do not want to go into it. While reviewing the whole position, I know there is a feeling that we are vindictive against those people who were on strike, how we are penalizing them too much, that we did not pay their salary for those days on strike and all that. While admitting there are two points of view on that matter, yet we want to be sympathetic, we want to take all the N.G.Os. with us and we want them to feel that they are also being looked after by the Government in the manner which is permissible under the present circumstances. But for the fact that we are going to have a huge deficit for the next year, and the year after that, and perhaps the year after that also, we should have done something more for them and the dearness allowance could have been more liberal. But faced as we are with the food position and with the failure of the north-east monsoon, we could not do better. I want to assure the N.G.Os. and I want to say categorically here on the floor of the House that I want their sincere co-operation. They should not go with the feeling that they are oppressed by the Ministry, but they should go with the feeling that honest work will be appreciated by Government. If they respond to our call they will not be subjected to any punishment at all. I want them to go with that happy feeling. Government will also see that if there is proper response, a proper change of heart on their part, those penal provisions which were issued some time ago may be reviewed so that they may get their salary for the days on strike, if necessary.

" Finally, Sir, I am extremely thankful for all the criticisms made. They all represent, perhaps, the voice of the people. People

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have been clamouring for a long long time for several things to be done. Now we have independence, they want them to be done immediately. So, there is nothing wrong if members come forward and criticise us for not doing them. They are right in asking for more maternity homes, secondary schools, colleges and so on. All those things are quite legitimate. Now, Sir, we must all strive towards that goal of perfection. We should stretch our hands to that perfection, as I ended my speech in the other House, by tireless striving to see that the common man is really served and served well. Thank you, Sir."

MR. PRESIDENT :—" The discussion on the budget has now 6 p.m. come to a close. I am very happy that the whole discussion has gone on very well and in a friendly atmosphere and indeed the number of members who speak on the budget is growing from year to year. This year's number is a record. I personally feel that the speeches have contributed a great deal to the usefulness of the discussions in this House and the fact that as many as six members of the Government have been provoked to speak in reply and give very useful information to the members concerned is proof positive that the criticisms offered in this House have been very much appreciated by the Government.

" Some doubts have been raised in this House whether there has been any change after the 15th August 1947. I personally see two notable changes. One is the change in the Opposition in this House and I personally congratulate the new Party that has been formed and coming as it does after the 15th August, I do sincerely hope that it will strive to the same perfection which has been so much emphasized by the Hon. Minister for Finance.

" The other notable change that I see is this. In this budget discussion almost all Hon. Ministers have been present in this House during the entire discussion. Perhaps the primary credit goes to the new Leader of the Opposition for this desirable change. Whatever that might be, I am very much gratified that the Ministers have given due consideration to the requests made to them by the hon. Leader of the Opposition and I need hardly tell them how much they have raised the level of the discussion in this House and how much the dignity of the entire discussion has been increased by the presence of all Hon. Ministers in this House. I do hope that this wholesome convention will be observed in the years to come and I am sure their presence and replies will be very much appreciated not only by me, but also by the entire House. I heartily congratulate the House on having brought this discussion to such a useful end and I hope with the Hon. Minister for Finance, that we shall march on to that perfection he spoke of, year after year.

" The House will now adjourn and meet again at 3 p.m. on the 19th instant."